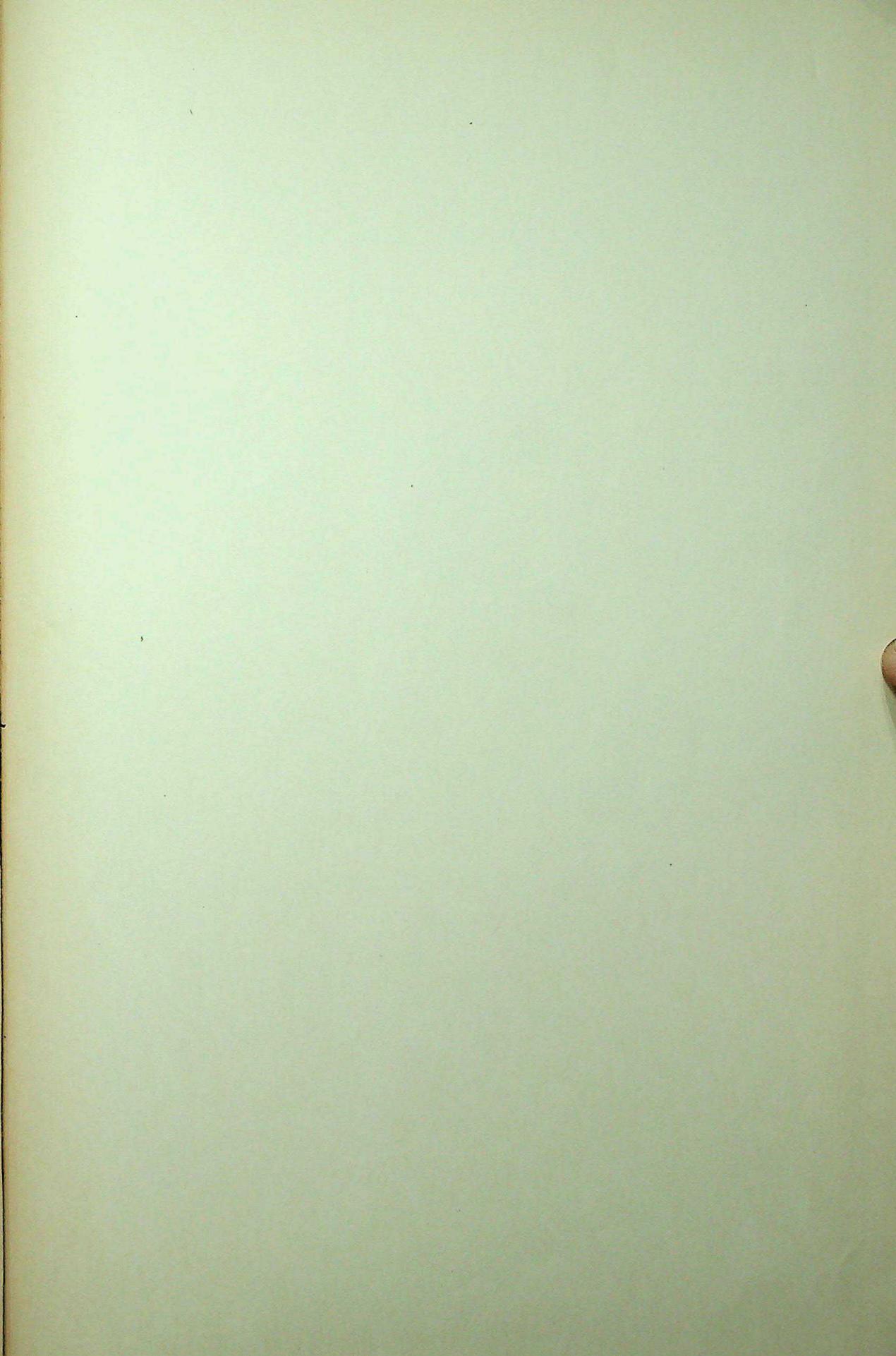


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A PILLARED HALL
FROM A TEMPLE AT MADURA, INDIA





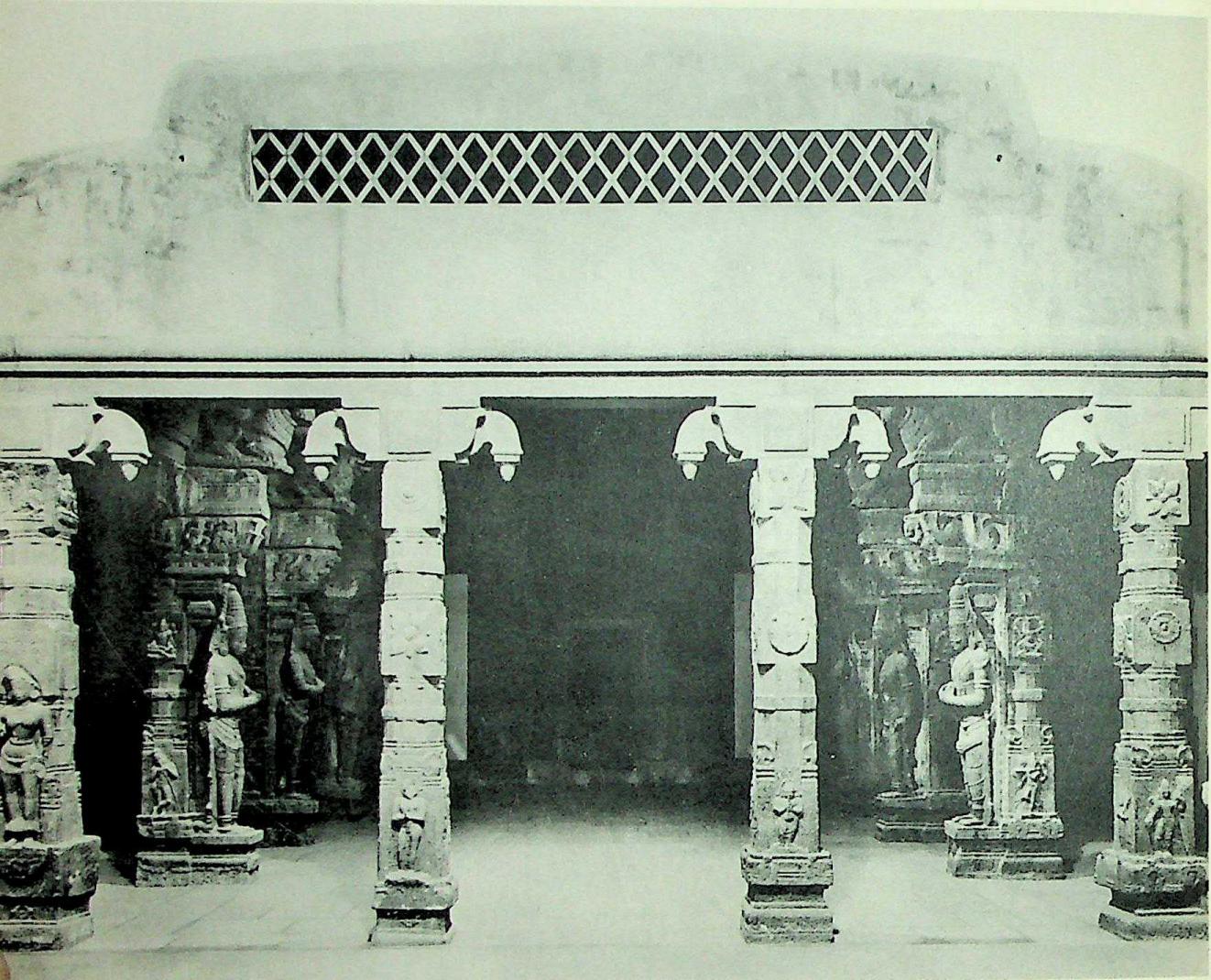
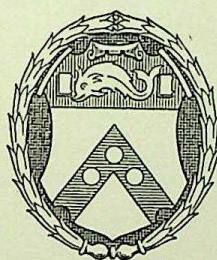


Fig. 1. THE MANDAPAM AS INSTALLED

A PILLARED HALL
FROM A
TEMPLE AT MADURA, INDIA

in the Philadelphia Museum of Art

BY
W. NORMAN BROWN



Philadelphia

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PREFACE

THE only Indian stone temple ensemble in America is the pillared hall (*mandapam*) from Madura belonging to the Philadelphia Museum of Art and now installed in a gallery on the top floor of the south wing of the main building at Fairmount. It consists of a number of monolithic pillars, with corbels, lion capitals, and some ornamental frieze slabs, all apparently carved in the sixteenth century. These originally constituted part of a temple, until at some unknown date they were defaced and the temple badly damaged or razed, possibly by a Mohammedan conqueror in the eighteenth century. No other museum anywhere can show such a large grouping of integrated architectural units from a single building of India. The nearest approach in America is the small carved wooden room from a seventeenth century Jain shrine of Patan, Gujarat, in western India, which is now set up in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The unit in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, so rare outside of India, illustrates so many aspects of Indian architecture, sculpture, and iconography that it has seemed worthy of description in a small monograph, especially since the discussion produces explanation of numerous points not heretofore treated in any publication.

The pieces constituting the pillared hall were originally acquired in Madura in 1912 by Adeline Pepper Gibson, who died in France January 10, 1919, in the military service of the United States at Base Hospital 38, American Expeditionary Forces, at Nantes. They were presented to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in August 1919, in her memory, by Mrs. J. Howard Gibson, Mrs. J. Norman Henry and Mr. Henry C. Gibson.

Shortly after the pieces were presented to the Museum, they were installed in Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, and the installation was celebrated with a pageant called "The Building of the Temple," which was given daily on April 19, 20, 21, and 23, 1920. They remained in Memorial Hall until 1938, when it was possible to remove them to the India gallery in the Fairmount building and commence to install them there with the aid of a Federal Works Progress Administration grant.

In 1934-35, aided by the late Mrs. Robert G. Logan, the Museum made it possible for me to examine the site from which the pieces had come. The main purpose of my visit to Madura was to secure information that might assist in the future installation of the pieces at Fairmount. I went to Madura at the end of November and spent five days in intensive investigation, taking with me as interpreter and consultant Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, of the Government Museum, Madras, who is mentioned frequently in this book. In the hope that additional pieces could be secured, Mrs. J. Norman Henry and Mr. Henry C. Gibson then generously gave a fund, which they also graciously permitted to be drawn against for the preparation of this book and for assistance in the final installation of the temple.

The main purpose of this work is to determine the site, date, and significance of the elements comprising the *mandapam*. To do so it has been necessary to develop some points in the history of Madura architecture showing that features ascribed by Jouveau-Dubreuil to the Madura period appear actually to have been known in the latter part of the preceding period, that is, the one known as Vijayanagara. In the iconography many types have received descriptions which are without printed explanations elsewhere.

A minor point has been to discuss the *mandapam* with enough attention to the background for a non-Indianist visitor to the Museum to understand the meaning of the Indian terms employed and the cultural significance of the ensemble. To this end I have included the two very summary introductory chapters, which contain almost no new material, and have throughout tried to treat the mythology with enough fullness to be intelligible.

I am indebted to Mr. J. T. H. Marshall for information about the securing of the Museum's material in India, and especially to Professor G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, of Pondicherry, and his publishers, Messrs. P. Geuthner, of Paris, for permission to reproduce in my Chapter II a number of drawings from that author's *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*. These are all acknowledged specifically in my text.

W. N. B.

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I

THE AGE AND IMPORTANCE OF MADURA

ONE of India's most ancient and most famous cities, still flourishing and important, is Madura,¹ far to the south, in the great Tamil-speaking region. We cannot say when it was founded or even when it reached cultural or commercial eminence, but we know that at the end of the fourth century B. C. the Greek Megasthenes, who was at the Mauryan court of Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) in Bihar, northeastern India, had heard of the Pāṇḍyan land, in which Madura is located, and reported on it to his fellow countrymen. His writings are lost, but he is quoted in later authors, who have transmitted legends he told and repeated his identifications of Indian heroes with figures of classical mythology. Heracles, he said, apparently meaning the Hindu hero and god Krishna (*Kṛṣṇa*), had a great many male children, for he married many women, but only a single daughter, by name Pandaia. Her father made her ruler of the land where she was born, and called it Pandaia after her. He gave her five hundred elephants, four thousand cavalry, and 130,000 infantry. When he was about to die, with no one at hand worthy of marrying her, he married her himself, though she was but seven years old, and in this way established a line of kings, bestowing on her a marvelous maturity still characteristic of her race. The coast of her country, he added, was famous for pearl fisheries. Heracles had found a pearl in the sea, thought it suitable for feminine ornament, and had brought all the sea pearls from the entire world to the coast for his daughter's use.

Aside from such legends, more solid history gives evidence of commerce between Madura, by way of the seaports serving

¹ The name Madura is a southern pronunciation of "Mathurā," an important city in North India, which was long prominent politically and culturally, and from at least the third century B. C. until medieval times was especially distinguished for its school of sculpture. Madura never achieved an equal fame as an art center, but it was always distinguished enough to be worthy of its name.

it, and western lands. Roman coins found there from the time of the Caesars point to the drain of gold which India was even then making upon the rest of the world, as she has steadily continued to do ever since. The commerce was important enough then for the city to figure in western geographies, just as in preceding centuries it was important enough within India for Asoka (third century B. C.) to send a religious, and doubtless also politico-economic, mission to the region.

The Pāṇḍyan kings ruled Madura and the adjacent region with varying degrees of independence from neighboring Hindu states until the eleventh century A. D., when the Chola (*cōlan*) kings, just north of Pāṇḍya, conquered it. In the early part of the fourteenth century (1310) the Mohammedans took it, and held it for about fifty years, when it was incorporated in the Hindu kingdom Vijayanagara, whose capital was situated farther to the north. The emperors of Vijayanagara governed Madura by a viceroy called *nāyaka*, "leader, duke," until in the sixteenth century (1558) one of these Nāyakas named Viśvanātha made himself virtually independent of the declining power of the imperial center, although he and his successors continued to render formal allegiance. The Madura Nāyakas constituted a dynasty, of which the greatest member was Tirumala (*tirumalai-nāyakkar*), ruling 1623-59. He was a diligent builder, who adorned Madura with many magnificent edifices, including especially his palace and the celebrated Pudu-maṇḍapam at the Sundareśvara-Mīnākṣī temple. After his death the Nāyaka kingdom disintegrated, being overrun by various other Indian powers, mostly Mohammedan. In 1762 British officers took charge of the district, nominally in behalf of the state then owning it. In 1801 this state ceded all authority to the East India Company, and from that time Madura has been part of British India.

In recent centuries Madura, as the chief city of India's far south, has been the scene of Christian missionary activity. Within less than forty-five years after Vasco da Gama found the sea route around Africa to India (1498), St. Francis Xavier

reached that land also, and in 1542-43 he was preaching in the Madura district among a fisher folk called the Paravas (*para-var*). When these were converted the King of Portugal claimed them as his subjects, with the result that a political question arose. Later, in about 1592,² Jesuit missionaries established work in Madura, but it was not successful. In 1606 Roberto de' Nobili, a colorful and intellectually astonishing person, made many conversions there as a "Roman Brahman." He assumed this remarkable character and fabricated a literature to match it, which appealed to high caste Hindus but won disapproval from many of his fellow Christians. Since his time Catholicism has advanced in Madura, and for about a century Protestants have been active too. Yet in spite of nearly three hundred and fifty years of this frontal attack, Hinduism still shows no weakness. It appears to be no more shaken by Christian missions than it was in former times by the Jains, who once were vigorous in the community but later were discouraged by persecutions that are still commemorated in some of the wall paintings of the celebrated Mīnākṣī temple.

During most of its known history Madura has been the capital city of a large district, with a political importance corresponding to the cultural. It has been a center of commerce, art, literature, and religion. Above all it has been a center of civilization as practised in Dravidian India, that is, the part of India inhabited by speakers of the languages belonging to the family called "Dravidian."

The major cultural division in pre-Mohammedan India was that between Aryan and Dravidian. To this day it is still the chief line of separation between parts of Hindu India. The Dravidians are a group of people using inter-related languages, who were in India before the Aryans arrived, presumably at around 1500-1200 b. c. Where the Dravidians came from and when, what parts of India they held first, and what peoples or languages outside of India, if any, are related to them are unknown; certainly they are not connected with the Aryans

² Aiyar Nāyaks, p. 82.

(Indo-Europeans). The best assumption at present seems to be that they were invaders of India from the northwest at some time previous to the arrival of the Aryans. It is a guess, not implausible, that the Dravidians owned the cultures of the Indus valley around 3000-2500 b. c., which were first announced to the world in 1924, and have been well revealed by intensive archaeological excavation at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, and Chanhudaro, and exploratory survey at many other sites. But there is no certainty that they owned them, and hardly can be until we learn to read the writing left by the Indus valley people.³ We can only say that the Dravidians were present in what is now modern Aryan India when the Aryans arrived, and that they have left evidences of their amalgamation with the Aryans in the languages now spoken by the Indo-Aryans. To what extent the Dravidians were civilized before the Aryans came, we are again uninformed. We know, of course, that the Indus civilization is pre-Aryan, and that in it we find many elements which still survive in modern India, but with no knowledge of the people who developed the Indus civilization we are obviously unable to ascribe it with certainty to the Dravidians. Tradition among the Dravidians themselves mentions knowledge of writing, literature, and study of grammar independent of the Aryan tradition, but it is impossible to establish those claims. We can affirm that characteristic Aryan civilization in India, from around the eighth century b. c. on, is a fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan, but we can only surmise how much of the non-Aryan came from the Dravidians. The literature of ancient India does not give the answer. The Aryans give us our first literary reports about the country, and their oldest texts are at least a thousand years older than any existing in Dravidian languages. By the time of the first surviving Dravidian works the Aryan languages already possessed an enormously developed

³ Although several persons have at various times announced decipherment of these writings, to date (1939) no one of the proposed decipherments can stand the test of scientific examination. Remains of the Indus Valley civilizations, including seals with writing, are at present (1939) owned outside of India only by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which has holdings from the excavations at Chanhudaro.

literature, which was having a pronounced influence upon the vocabulary, technical terminology, phraseology, and thought of the Dravidian books. Writing as a means of preserving literature developed in India among the Aryans first, and in using it they ascribed to themselves creative superiority in civilization and expressed contempt for the intellectual, social, and moral pretensions of their non-Aryan neighbors, whom they relegated to serfdom, evidently believing firmly in "racial purity."

As the Aryans advanced in India and their languages dominated the blended Aryan and non-Aryan folk, the frontiers of Dravidian speech were steadily pushed to the south. The linguistic border is still slowly moving down the peninsula. A few islands of Dravidian speech exist to-day in Aryan territory, of which the most dramatically placed is that of the Brāhūīs in Baluchistan. These are a "primitive" people living only a short distance from Mohenjo-daro, "City of the Dead," which may possibly have belonged to their ancestors nearly five thousand years ago. Except for such islands, Dravidian India is now southern India, where, as we saw above, a civilization was in existence in the fourth century B. C. and by implication before then. The Aryans claim that this civilization was taught by their Vedic sage (*r̥si*) Agastya, who carried the holy word and the sacred fire to the south. In the epic Rāmāyaṇa they show the Aryan hero Rāma, who is the god Vishnu incarnate, leading to culture and light and victory over the intransigent demons (*rākṣasas*) of Ceylon the southern aborigines figured as monkeys (*vānaras*). The social stigma of the Vānaras' sub-human state is not quite palliated by the obviously later rationalization that they are incarnations of lesser deities. The Jains tell how in the fourth century B. C., when a twelve-year famine devastated northeastern India, their pontiff Bhadrabāhu carried their lore to southern, non-Aryan, India. He established the church at Sravāṇa Belgola in what is now Mysore state, and this town is still the chief center of the Digambara ("Sky-clothed") division of that faith.

These legends hardly established that the Aryans civilized the

Dravidians; they only prove that the Aryans thought the Dravidians below respect until they began to adopt the culture that the Aryans had created, or at least believed that they had created. For there is always the possibility that the Dravidians, especially if they should happen to be the people who had the Indus valley civilizations, contributed ideas and institutions to the culture which we know as Aryan. It is a singular thing that the oldest Aryan book, the Rig Veda, knows nothing of such characteristic Indian, that is Hindu, notions as Rebirth and Karma (retribution in future existences for the acts of this one), which have been axioms since the sixth century B. C., and gives only hints of the doctrine of monism (or, non-dualism) and the institution of caste. These and other features of classical India may have come to the Aryans from non-Aryan Indians, and the politically conquered may in their turn have been in some degree intellectual conquerors. Whatever the truth may be about this unanswerable question, it is clear that in historic times the capacity for developing civilization has been no less in south India than in north India, while also south Indian culture has been different from that of north India and in part independent of it. The reason may lie in possession of original creative ability equal to that of the Aryans or in parallel inheritance with the Aryans from the Indus valley people. At the present time Dravidian India, having been less subject to Mohammedan conquest, depredation, ethnic and tribal invasion, and rule than has north India, preserves traditional Hindu civilization better.

The chief Dravidian peoples today are four: the Tamils, occupying most of the eastern coast of the lower part of India and the country inland from that coast, as well as the northern part of Ceylon; the Telugus, north of the Tamils along the eastern coast and inland; the Kanarese, who are west of the Tamils; and the Malayalam-speaking people, who are also west of the Tamils and south and west of the Kanarese. All four of these peoples have cultivated extensively literature, architecture, sculpture, religion, drama—indeed, all the arts of civilization—and have splendid monuments from antiquity. But the

most extensive and the oldest seems to be the Tamil. These last have had a number of important cities, ruled by powerful dynasties, and among those cities Madura has been known as long as any. When it was the Pāṇḍyan capital, it dominated the extreme south politically as well as culturally; at other times, when it lacked political supremacy, its culture was still second to none.

The surviving monuments of Madura come mostly from the sixteenth century on, but remains from older periods can be seen incorporated in buildings, having been used for repair or reconstruction. The most prominent feature of the city's life is the worship at the great temple devoted to the god Shiva (*Siva*) as Sundareśvara and his wife Umā, Pārvatī, also otherwise named, who is here called Mīnākṣī ("Fish-eye," probably to indicate that she has beautifully large and long eyes, although the name is also variously explained as indicating that she was originally the goddess of fisher folk or that her eyes assume the appearance of fish eyes in love of her husband). These two are the special deities of the city, and the huge temple ensemble which houses them includes not only their shrines but also a market place, being a whole small city in itself. Yet Madura is by no means an exclusively Shaiva (*Saiva*) city, and the god Vishnu (*Viṣṇu*) is also worshipped there, especially in the Perumāl (Kūḍal Alagar) temple.

The source, then, of the pieces in the Philadelphia Museum of Art *maṇḍapam* (pillared hall) is one of India's oldest and most important cities, located in the extreme south of the country, where the civilization is characteristically Dravidian and different from that of northern, Aryan, India. The pieces illustrate a great period in the life of this city, and illustrate that period through its religion, which is the focal point of Indian life.

II

SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

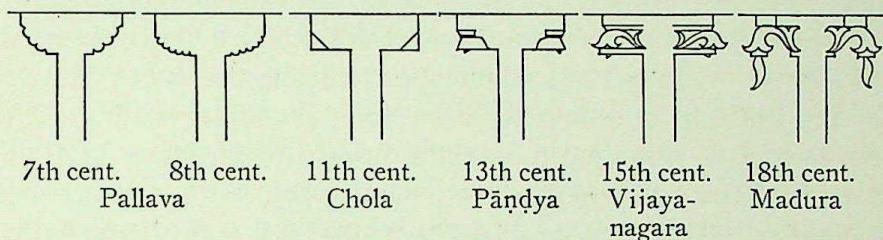
THE pillared hall (*mandapam*) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art comes at the end of a long history of temple architecture in South India. To clarify some features of the units composing the *mandapam* it is necessary to make a few brief comments on the previous development of style and ornament.¹

We begin with Buddhist rock-cut cave temples of the second century B. C., themselves monoliths but fortunately imitating faithfully, even in many details, the appearance of contemporary structural temples (Figs. 55, 56). There were two main types of cave temples: the *caityaghara*, a hall of worship; and the *vihāra*, monks' residence. Of these the *caityaghara* starts the sequence of styles. It was a long hall with two rows of pillars and a barrel-vaulted roof, ending in an apse that sheltered a *stūpa* (memorial mound) and an ambulatory around it. At the front was a horseshoe-shaped window that might constitute the whole entrance or might appear above a portico. This window was repeated in smaller form in many other parts of the façade, either as a true window or as a mere ornament. In front of the doorway was generally a pillared portico or verandah (*mandapam*). The pillars of the temple, both external and internal, might be plain or topped with an inverted lotus, and they might be round or prismatic.

1. *Pallava Style (about 600-850)* In South India followers of Hinduism were excavating monolithic cave temples at Bādāmi as early as the latter part of the sixth century, and were carving huge boulders into shrines at Māmallapuram, on the sea coast south of Madras, in the early part of the seventh century (Fig. 47), where the Pallava kings were the patrons of the work. In the next century, kings of this same dynasty were

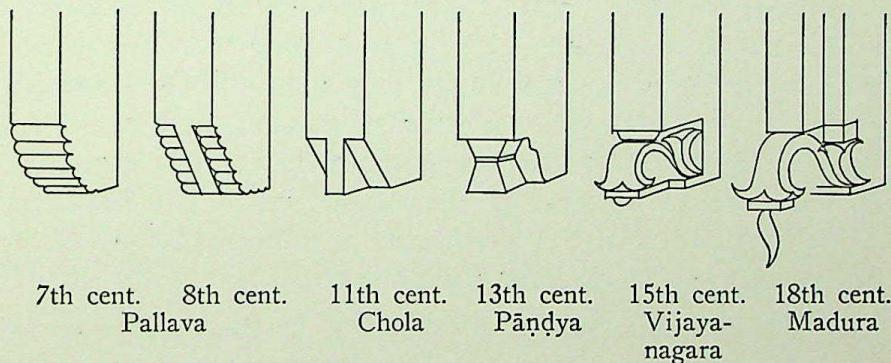
¹ The chief authority on South Indian architecture is Jou-Du Arch (see in my list of Bibliographical Abbreviations, p. xi). A treatment based secondarily upon that of Jouveau-Dubreuil and accompanied with many excellent illustrations appears in E. La Roche, *Indische Baukunst* (6 vols., Munich, 1921-22), vols. 1 and 2, with text in vol. 1, pp. 25-30, 32-46.

erecting structural temples at Māmallapuram and Conjeevaram (*Kāñcipuram*). The rock-cut temples at Māmallapuram are especially instructive. The verandah (*mandapam*) is an integral part of the building. The inverted lotus at the top of the column, just below the abacus, has been compressed and blown out until it looks like a cushion. The lower part of the shaft is a seated



EVOLUTION OF THE SOUTH INDIAN CORBEL—FROM THE FRONT

(After Jou-Du Arch, p. 59)



EVOLUTION OF THE SOUTH INDIAN CORBEL—THREE-QUARTERS
VIEW

(After Jou-Du Arch, p. 60)

lion, although elsewhere both before and after this time, as at Bādāmi and Elūrā, the lion is not so used. Above the pillars are plain corbels, a feature worth careful noting, because in the succeeding history of South Indian architecture the style of the corbel is an almost infallible index of the period of the temple where it is used. The horseshoe-shaped window no longer is functional, but has become only an ornamental motif now called

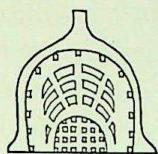
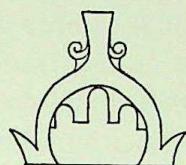
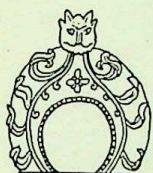
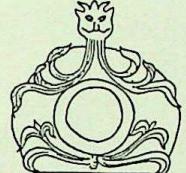
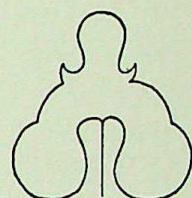
kūḍu, at that place and time with the face of a heavenly musician (*gandharva*) inside it. The roof is either long and vaulted, with a ridge, much like the grass roofs of the village huts still built along the same coast, or consists of a number of small pavillions (Tamil *pañcara*, Sanskrit *pañjara*, "cage") arranged in a pyramid of tiers. The temple proper (*vimāna*, "palace" of the god, also "celestial chariot") has an inner shrine (*garbhagrha*) to house the image, and above this shrine is a small tower or spire (*sikhara*). In the structural temples erected in the eighth century by the Pallavas at Māmallapuram and Conjeevaram (Fig. 58) the portico is extended before the inner shrine into a kind of hall; the lions forming the lower part of the shafts are rearing instead of seated; and around the temple is a walled courtyard with a series of cells along the inner side of the wall.

2. *Chola Style (about 850-1100)* The height of the chola (more accurately but less usually transcribed "cōla") supremacy was under Rājarāja I (985-1018), who constructed the *vimāna* of the temple at Tanjore (Fig. 59). During the Chola period the *vimāna* becomes much larger than it was in the preceding period; the corbels assume a different shape, as will be evident below in the drawings of the corbels of the successive periods; so too there are changes in the appearance of the *kūḍu*, the *pañjara*, and the varieties of columns, as indicated below. Many other features of evolution are not mentioned here.²

3. *Pāṇḍya Style (about 1100-1350)* In the Pāṇḍya period (Fig. 60) the gateway (*gopuram*) at the entrance of the walled courtyard becomes very large, overshadowing the *vimāna*. In front of the *vimāna* with its shrine, pillared room (*ardhamandapam*, "half" *mandapam*), and portico, now appears, at about 1300, an entirely open verandah or pillared shelter (*mandapam*), external to the *vimāna*. The corbels are further developed (see below), and their ends appear as flower buds.

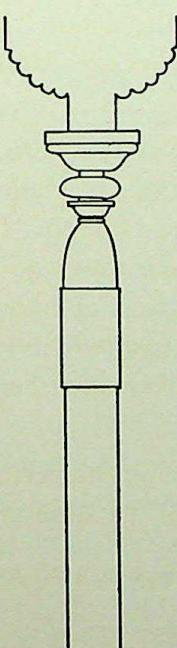
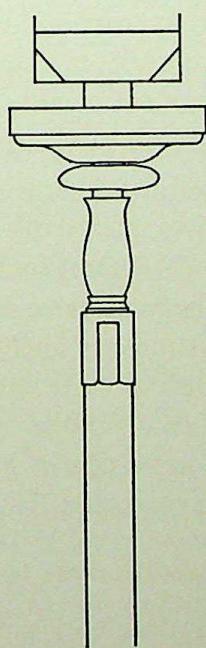
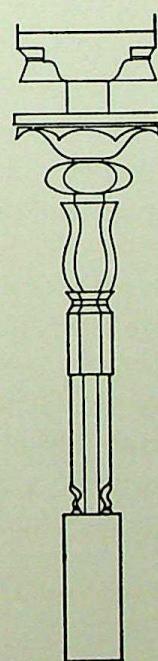
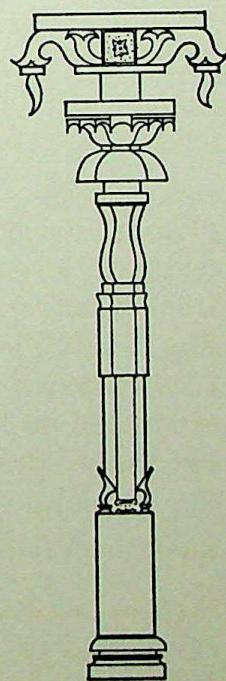
4. *Vijayanagara Style (about 1350-1600)* During the period when the Vijayanagara kingdom, or empire, was the bulwark

² For the developments of this and successive periods see Jou-Du Arch, 114-169.

2nd cent. B. C.
Asoka3rd cent. A. D.
Kaniṣka7th cent. A. D.
Pallava
Mamallapuram9th cent. A. D.
Ganga Pallava
Bahur11th cent.
Chola
Tanjore13th cent.
Pāṇḍya
Chidambaram15th cent.
Vijayanagara
Velur18th cent.
Madura

EVOLUTION OF THE KŪDU

(After Jou-Du Arch, p. 61)

7th cent.
Pallava11th cent.
Chola13th cent.
Pāṇḍya17th cent.
Madura

EVOLUTION OF THE PILLAR WITH BULBOUS CAPITAL

(After Jou-Du Arch, p. 66)

of South Indian Hinduism against the Mohammedans, the details of temple ornamentation were elaborated, and every element underwent advanced evolution. The inverted ends of the corbels were ornamented with lotus buds or plantain flowers;³ composite pillars were erected, some with great elaborate figures carved on them; the external *mandapams* were provided with outside rows of rearing horses, lions, or *yālis* (mythical creatures with a lion's body and face and an elephant's trunk and tusks), as at Velur and Conjeevaram (Fig. 61).

5. *Madura Style (from about 1600 to the present)* The empire of Vijayanagara was weakened in 1565 by a defeat at the hands of the Mohammedans, and the Nāyakas of Madura became the South Indian patrons of Hinduism. During that time and down to the present comparatively minor changes from the Vijayanagara style have been made. The corbels have been further developed, for example, and the ornamentation of the exteriors of the *gopurams* (gateway towers) has become a chaos of painted terra cotta figures (Fig. 62).

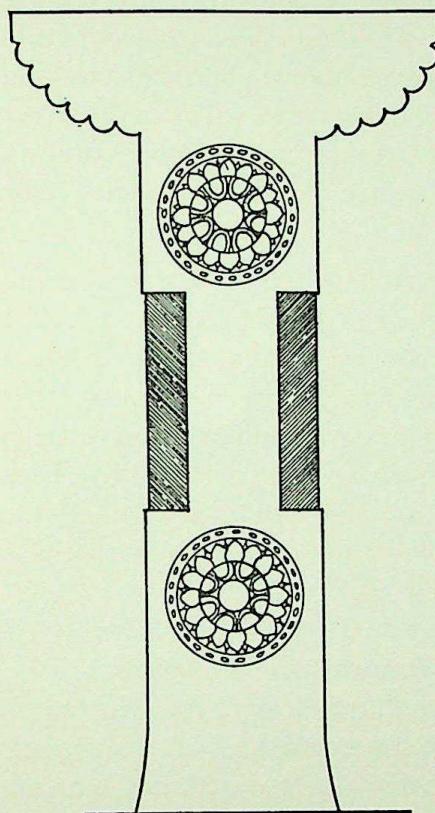
Stylistic Evolution of Characteristic Elements

M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, in his admirable study of South Indian architecture, gives drawings of important characteristic architectural elements as they evolve in the various periods mentioned above, and a number of those are reproduced in this chapter. The sequence is good, although any theory that there were fixed lines of chronological separation between the different types is not intended.

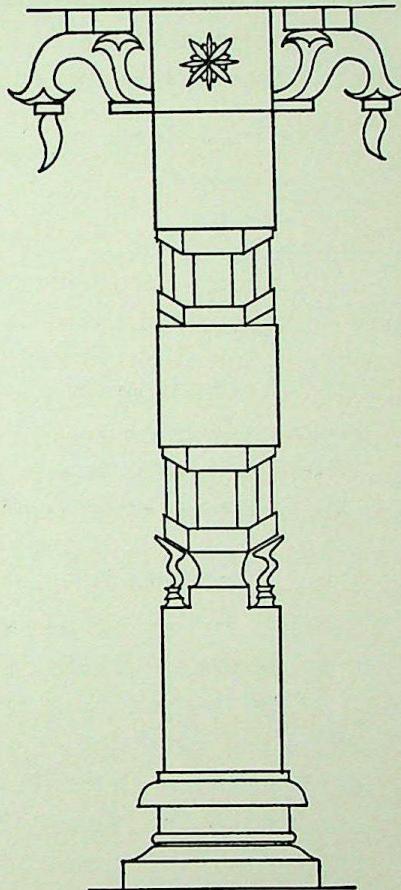
The pillars and corbels of the Philadelphia Museum of Art *mandapam* are of the late Vijayanagara or early Madura type, as the drawings below show. The simple type of pillar furnished the main shaft of the composite pillar, and to the front of that main shaft is attached an additional pilaster modeled on the bulbous capital type of pillar, before which in its turn is placed in almost the full round a sculptured figure. The two pillars of the second composite type are made on the bulbous capital type.

³ See Rama Tiru 28.

The pillars are shown with the names of their important parts indicated in Tamil (or in Sanskrit) and in English translation.



7th cent.
Pallava



17th cent.
Madura

PILLAR WITH SQUARE CAPITAL

(After Jou-Du Arch, p. 67)

Pillar (*stambha*) with bulbous capital

madalai (prop, overhanging border)

kāndam (pole)

palagai (plank)

idal (petal of corolla)

kumbham (pot)

tadi (staff, rod, club, pestle)
kalaśam (pot)
padmabandham (flower bond)
kāl (shaft)
nāgabandham (snake-bond)

Base (*upapītam*)

parimāṇam
kabodam
kāndam
padmam
upāṇam

Pillar with square capital (*tūṇam*)

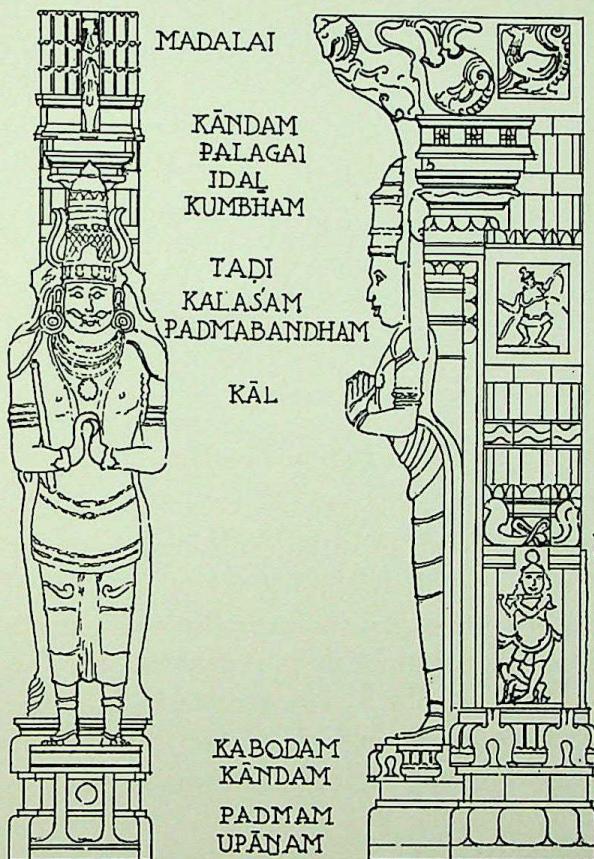
caturam (square)
katṭu (prismatic band)
nāgabandha (snake bond)

Ground Plan of a South Indian Temple

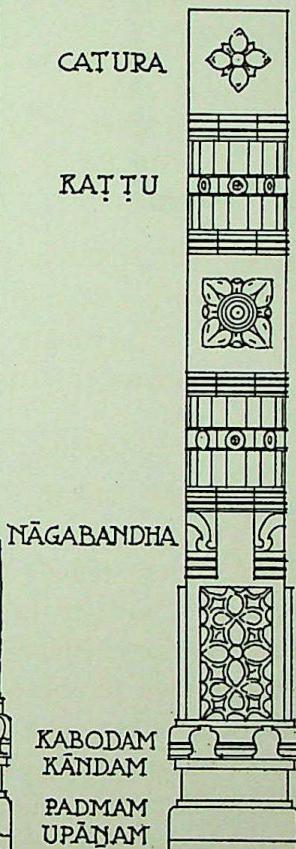
A South Indian Temple ensemble from Chola times on is likely to contain a main shrine and one or two subsidiary shrines. Most of the temples have grown through a period of several centuries, and are therefore unlike one another. But to illustrate the general scheme of temple planning, there is attached here an outline plan of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple in Madura, in the compound of which most, if not all, of the Philadelphia Museum of Art pieces were once lying. The main, central, shrine is to the youthful Krishna, the side shrines to his wife Rukmini and his devotee-wife Āṇḍal. This small temple complex was planned symmetrically—few large temples show such symmetry—and appears to have been built in a comparatively small space of time. It lacks a completely detached *mandapam* such as is found in many of the large South Indian temple ensembles. But it shows many of the uses of simple and compound pillars. Photographs of parts of this temple, appearing in the plates at the end of this book, will give an idea of the structure. The principal parts of each of the three temples in the Madana Gopāla Swāmi group are the inner shrine (*garbhagṛha*) and

antechamber (*antarālaya*) before it, the pillared room leading to it (*ardhamanḍapam*), the portico (*mukhamanḍapam*), and the verandah (*maṇḍapam*). Large temples, unlike these small

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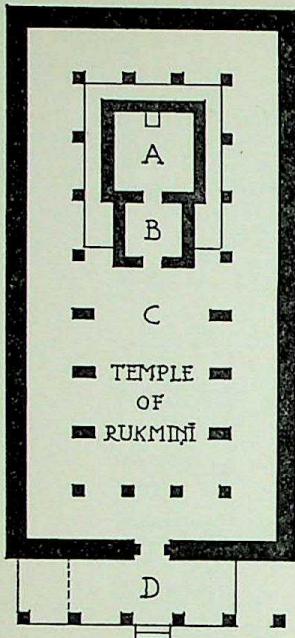


SCALE



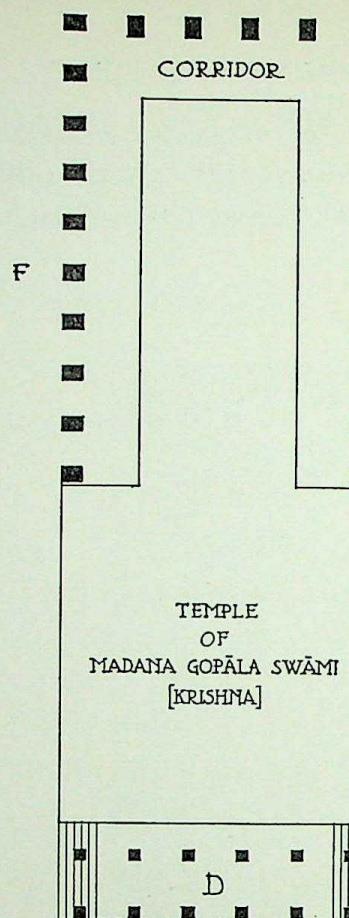
ELEMENTS OF PILLARS IN PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

ones, may have more than two rows of composite columns in the *maṇḍapam* and *ardhamanḍapam*. The ceiling height of the aisle between the composite columns is always higher than that of the naves between the composite and single columns. An account of this temple is given below, p. 20 ff.

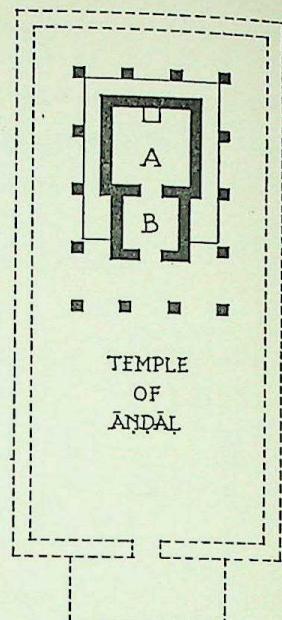


LEGEND

- A - GARBHAGRIHA
- B - ANTARĀLAYA
- C - ARDHAMANDĀPA
- D - MUKHAMANDĀPA
- E - MANDĀPA
- F - LION-CAPITAL CORRIDOR
- G - TREE
- H - WELL
- I - KITCHEN
- J - BLOCKED-UP GATE
- K - GOPURA

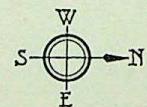


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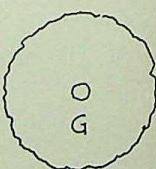
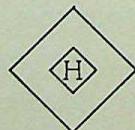


TEMPLE
OF
ĀNDĀL

E



SCALE
5 0 5 10 15 20



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K

III

THE ARCHITECTURAL UNITS IN THE MANDAPAM

THE original pieces in the Museum's *mandapam* (Fig. 1) are as follows:

16 simple columns, averaging about 8' 2" in height, of four varieties:

5 of variety Sa, all alike in detail (Fig. 27)

1 of variety Sb (Fig. 28)

1 of variety Sc (Fig. 29)

9 of variety Sd, all alike in detail (Fig. 27)

14 compound columns, varying from 8' 4" to 8' 8" in height, of two varieties:

12 of variety C, all different in detail, numbered serially from C1 to C12 (Figs. 2-25)

2 of variety Ca, both alike in detail (Fig. 26)

12 corbels, about 1' in height, all alike, set above C columns

12 lion capitals, varying from 2' 1" to 2' 4" in height, set above corbels

8 frieze slabs (Figs. 30-37), about 6' 6" in length, set between columns, as indicated on the diagram following below

[To make possible the installation a number of corbels, frieze slabs, and lintels have been moulded and set in their appropriate places in the *mandapam*]

The style of all these pieces is that which Jouveau-Dubreuil assigns to the Madura period (see above, p. 12, but their probable dating is at about the end of the Vijayanagara period, as I shall endeavor to show below.

The arrangement of the original elements in the Museum's installation is indicated on the accompanying diagram. It is

assumed, for reasons stated below in this Chapter, that the columns came from the *ardhamandapam* (pillared room before the inner shrine) of a temple, and the installation is meant to reproduce, as well as possible, such a room.

Arrangement of Columns and Frieze Pieces in the Mandapam

S = simple column (4 styles); C = compound column (2 styles)

F = frieze slab

Rear Wall

Sd	C7		C8	Sd
Sd	C6		C9	Sd
	[F8]		[F1]	
Sd	C5		C10	Sd
	[F7]		[F2]	
Sa	C4		C11	Sd
	[F6]		[F3]	
Sd	C3		C12	Sa
	[F5]		[F4]	
Sa	Sb	Sa	Sc	Sd

Ca	C1		C2	Ca
Doorway				

The various pieces of this ensemble were, with the possible exception of the two compound columns of variety Ca, lying in 1912 in the compound of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple at Madura, of which a plan has been given above (facing p. 17), and it was there that they were purchased. At the time when they were presented to the Museum, in 1919, someone had obviously had a hint that this temple was not the original site of these elements, but rather the Perumāl (*Kūdal Alagar*) temple in Madura; for when the pieces were first installed in Memorial Hall and a pageant called "The Building of the Tem-

ple" was given in April 1920 to celebrate the installation, the program said, in its "Historical Note":

The Mandapam, an outer court of a Hindu temple, which formed the approach to the shrine, was part of a private temple for the worship of Vishnu, erected in the middle of the seventeenth century of our era at Madura in southern India. It is probable that the columns were originally incorporated in the Perumal Temple and were subsequently removed to make room for others. . . .

Leaving aside for the present the matter of the dating, which seems to be too late by a century, we may note the remark, "It is probable that the columns were originally incorporated in the Perumal Temple and were subsequently removed to make room for others." This note, essentially correct if we interpret "Perumal Temple" to mean the main and subsidiary shrines of that temple, seems to have escaped the notice of the Museum authorities almost as soon as printed. The correspondence files of the Museum contain no reference to the possibility that the columns were not originally erected at the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple, and on the other hand have in them letters from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, dated October 6 and 7, 1919, and March 21, 1921,¹ and a copy of a letter to Dr. Coomaraswamy from Sir John Marshall, then Director General of Archaeology for India, dated January 25, 1920,² in which it is assumed without any suggestion of doubt that the pieces were originally part of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi complex. Before I went to India in 1934, I examined the files of

¹ Dr. Coomaraswamy says: "I am sure you will be interested to know that I visited the Madana Perumal Kovil in Madura, whence your stone columns etc. were removed, last week. There are two shrines and another building within the enclosure. Your columns have evidently been removed from the right hand one, and formed part of the mantapam in front of the shrine." Dr. Coomaraswamy names the temple "Madana Perumal Kovil," but his designation seems to be a confusion of the correct name, Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple, with that of the large Vishnu temple in Madura, called Perumāl (= Vishnu) Kovil (temple) or the Kūḍal Alagar Kovil. Dr. Coomaraswamy also enclosed some photographs, which I afterwards verified as taken in the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple enclosure.

² Sir John Marshall says: "The Mandapam belonged originally to a temple in Madura called Gopalaswami, and the probable date is the latter part of the 16th century. The temple is a private one, and not included in the Standard List of Ancient Monuments."

the Museum, and found only the letters referred to above, and no hint of the probability that many of the columns had never been erected at the place where they were purchased, and it was not until May 1938, that I saw the program of the "Building of the Temple" and learned for the first time that the information I had got in Madura, which will be related below, might already have been suspected before my visit to that city. But the full account of my investigation on this point is needed to make clear the probable facts, and I shall give it in partly narrative form, quoting copiously from the report I sent to Dr. Fiske Kimball, director of the Museum, on December 4, 1934, after my visit to Madura.

The Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple, in the courtyard of which the Museum's pieces were lying when they were purchased in 1912, is situated at the west end of a street which its signboard names "Madana Gopāla Swāmi Street," and the small *gopuram* (Fig. 39), which is the gate to the temple courtyard, brings the street to a dead end. The plan of the temple is given above, facing p. 17. Although this temple was not the original site of the principal pieces in the Museum's *mandapam*, it enters so largely into the discussion of the pieces that I shall give a fairly full description of it.

The date of the temple is uncertain, but it was certainly in existence before 1599. An inscription of that year in Tamil on a stone in front of the Perumāl temple of Madura, set up by the Vijayanagara king Vīra Veṅkaṭa Mahārāyā, mentions the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple.³ Another inscription on the west wall of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple is dated equivalent to A. D. 1596.⁴ It is likely, but not certain, that the construction

³ Inscriptions 36 of 1908; see *Annual Report on Epigraphy of the Government of Madras, for the year 1907-08*; also Rang Inscript II. 998 (entry No. 71).

⁴ Inscription 500 of 1907; see Rang Inscript II. 998 (entry No. 69), an inscription in Tamil and Grantha. Within the same temple compound have been found other, much earlier, inscriptions on loose stones—inscriptions 506, 507, 508, and 510 of 1907; see Rang Inscript II. 998, entries Nos. 64, 65, 66, 68. These, of course, cannot be taken as evidence of the date of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple as it now stands. The stones may be fragments from an earlier, but now destroyed, temple once standing on the site of the present temple, or they may be some of the debris brought to the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple compound from the ruined Laks̄mī side-temple of the Perumāl temple, as will be mentioned below in my discussion.

was undertaken during the sixteenth century, after the rise of the Nāyaka dynasty under Viśvanātha Nāyaka (c. 1529-1564), who is credited with building temples for the god Sundara and his wife Mīnākṣī (Śiva and Pārvatī).⁵ The latter construction is presumably of the great temple complex in Madura, although actually what was done must have been repair and restoration; for the Mīnākṣī temple contains elements that appear in style to be earlier than his time.⁶ Viśvanātha was a patron of that temple, and when he was crowned in 1559 went there in a great procession.⁷ The Nāyakas were diligent builders, and in restoring the greatness of Madura they built and repaired many temples,⁸ of which the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple may well have been one. The style of the elements of this temple is of the sixteenth century, and the elements are uniform, evidently coming from a single period.

The Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple compound is a medium-sized South Indian temple enclosure, measuring about 258 feet, 6 inches, by 165 feet. The temple complex is Vaishnava, that is connected with the Vishnu-division of Hinduism, and the main temple is dedicated to Madana Gopāla, the youthful form of Krishna, who is an *avatāra* (incarnation) of Vishnu. Like many other South Indian temple complexes, this consists of more than one shrine, actually having three (Figs. 38, 40-42). The central and largest is to Madana Gopāla himself; that on the left as one faces the buildings is to his wife Rukmiṇī; that on the right is to Āṇḍal, the only female Vaishnava saint. Her devotions were such that, although she was not actually Krishna's wife, she became so through her piety, and is therefore frequently honored with a shrine in Krishna temples.⁹

All three shrines are now in a state of disrepair. For the most

⁵ For Viśvanātha see Aiyar Nāyaks 48 ff., 64 f.; for the construction of the Sundara and Mīnākṣī temples see *ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶ For example, the corbels over some of the columns along part of the golden lotus lake. These corbels are of Chola style, yet need not be by any means so old; such corbels continued to be made much later than the Chola period (see Rama Tiru 20).

⁷ Ranga IA 43. 256.

⁸ Cf. Ranga IA 43. 261.

⁹ For her story see Hooper Ālvārs, p. 14.

of the year the temple is without worshippers, being frequented only at the time of certain festivals; during the four days I visited it not a single worshipper entered, and the only persons in the compound, aside from myself and my helpers, were the few temple attendants, some workmen, and some small boys and other unemployed come to watch what I was doing. Like most South Indian temples this one faces the east. The Rukmiṇī temple (Figs. 40, 44) is in the best condition, although the spire (*sikhara*) over the inner sanctum is gone; the Āṇḍāl temple (Figs. 41, 46-48) is in the worst. Its inner shrine is still standing, but the elements before that shrine are in a state of great dilapidation. Only eight columns of its *maṇḍapam* are still erect, and most of the temple proper is down. Even part of the inner shrine has been restored, as a temple attendant informed me, and its original character is altered: eight of its columns were gone and had to be replaced in the restoration (Fig. 48), and the space around the inner shrine, which had originally been open to the sky, as in the Rukmiṇī temple, has been crudely roofed with stone slabs. Between the rear portion of the main shrine and the portion of the Rukmiṇī shrine opposite is a covered corridor about 64 feet long (Fig. 45), with the roof resting upon lintels, which in turn are supported by corbels over lion capitals surmounting pillars on each side of the corridor. The same sort of corridor either existed or was planned to connect the Āṇḍāl shrine with the central shrine.

The compound wall has only a single entrance, which is at the *gopuram*; but there was once a temporary gate in the southern wall, which is now bricked up and, according to a temple attendant, has been for about fifteen years (since about 1920-25). As will appear below, he said that it was used to bring debris from the compound of the large Vishnu (Perumāl) temple, which is about three hundred yards to the southwest of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple (Fig. 40). The northern portion of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple compound, that part between the Āṇḍāl shrine and the east wall, is littered with wreckage, which covers the site of the ruined portion of that

shrine, and also the ground to the west, north, and east of it (Figs. 41, 43, 46-48). Still other debris lies along the northern end of the rear of the main shrine, and more within the *mandapam* of that temple. The debris consists of columns, capitals, lintels, corbels, carved slabs, and presumably includes that brought from the Perumāl temple as well as that originally belonging to the now dilapidated parts of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple.

The buildings were to have a symmetrical arrangement, as the plan shows, and all the standing construction adheres to the original plan. The difference between the present appearance of the Rukmiṇī temple and that of the Āṇḍāl temple is the result either of collapse or destruction of the fore part of the Āṇḍāl temple or of failure ever to complete it. The original foundations of this latter temple are easily traced, in spite of the great amount of debris overlying them, and it is clear that the plan was identical with that of the Rukmiṇī temple. Only the modern reconstruction of the Āṇḍāl shrine, mentioned above, differs from the corresponding portion of the Rukmiṇī temple—namely, the roofing over of space that was originally open to the sky and the eight new columns that have been placed on the north, west, and south sides of the inner shrine. The doors of the outer shrine correspond, and all the other standing columns.

Not only is the plan of the complex symmetrical, but also the style of the building is uniform, as far as all standing pieces indicate. All columns of the three temples are of the same style, even down to details of ornament. There is, of course, a difference in height: the pillars of the *maṇḍapams* average about 10' 8", while those of the *mukhamāṇḍapams* and *ardhamāṇḍapams* average about 8' 3". This variation according to the parts of the building is customary in South Indian temples. The symmetry of plan and uniformity of style and ornament are indeed remarkable. In most South Indian temple ensembles buildings are added from time to time; the ground plan is irregular, and more than one style of building and ornament are present. There can be no doubt that the whole plan of the

Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple was conceived at once and the construction was all executed within a relatively small space of time, perhaps five years or less.

The one architectural problem of the temple complex concerns the northern side of the compound. Much is missing from the Āṇḍāl temple (Fig. 41), and the lion-capital corridor that should have been between the Āṇḍāl temple and the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple, corresponding to the corridor between the Rukmini temple and the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple, is incomplete (Fig. 43). Nor could I find the missing columns among the debris in the courtyard. It is possible that they were never made and that the Āṇḍāl temple was never completed. Āṇḍāl is the least important of the three honored here, and her shrine may have been left to the last, and so have suffered. If so, it would be easy to understand why debris brought from the Vishnu (Perumāl) temple should have been dumped on the ground reserved for her temple.

Having gone to Madura with the idea that the Museum's pieces were all originally erected at the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple, I looked for places from which they could have come. It was obvious that they could not have come from the Madana Gopāla Swāmi or the Rukmini temples, both of which are complete. It also soon became clear that they could not have come from any part of the Āṇḍāl temple as originally planned. There is no part of its ground plan unoccupied which would be large enough to accommodate the Museum's twelve composite columns of style C (See plan, p. 16). Nor do these correspond in style with any standing elements in any of the three temples, all of which show composite columns without the human or divine figures carved in the front. Finally, they never were part of a separate *mandapam*. Room could, indeed, have been found for one in the unoccupied area in the eastern part of the temple compound, but examination showed conclusively that none ever stood there.

Further investigation showed that our corbels and lion capitals correspond with parts of the temples still standing, but of our

four varieties of simple columns and two varieties of compound columns only one variety of the simple columns, namely those of style Sa, corresponds with any columns now standing in any of the temples. Also, the Museum's frieze slabs correspond with nothing in any part of the three temples. But among the debris of the courtyard I counted twenty-six columns of the style of our Sd, and found two fragmentary columns which looked much like our C columns, and saw three frieze slabs (Fig. 47) like those belonging to the Museum, while more may be buried under the debris. A great many corbels and lion capitals like the Museum's were scattered about, the lion capitals lying chiefly along the north and west walls.

An interesting point was that the Museum's columns have a height less than that of the columns standing in the *mandapams* of the three temples but corresponding to the height of those in the *ardhamandapams* (the pillared rooms inside the *vimānas* by the inner shrines). Our five columns of style Sa might have been originally five of the eight around the Āṇḍāl shrine that were replaced at the time of its reconstruction. And the measurements seem to guarantee that the original location of all our columns, no matter in what temple, was near the inner shrine in a pillared room before it. Observations in other temples in Madura confirm the conclusion that the shorter columns are usually those within the *vimāna*.

But the investigation had now come upon a major mystery. Although it appeared that the Museum's pieces had originally been part of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi complex, there were no pieces *in situ* like most of our columns and like our carved slabs; and there was no place where our columns could ever have been set up—excepting the five columns of style Sa. What could be the answer?

Fortunately a clue came from the temple attendants, especially an old man who said he had been a servant of the temple for fifty years, and looked the part. So far in the investigation my two helpers and I had ignored the temple attendants, trusting to their curiosity to bring them to us, as indeed it did. At the

moment when the problem seemed insoluble, we showed photographs of the Museum pieces to the ancient temple servant. At once he began to tell us a story. Many years ago, he said, perhaps fifty or more, the side temple of the large Vishnu (Perumāl) temple, which I have already mentioned, had fallen into disrepair. When it was decided to rebuild that side temple, the debris of the ruined temple had been brought over to the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple compound, and put in the northern portion of it, where, he added, most of it was still lying. This was the debris which I have already mentioned, and our informant said that it had been brought through the temporary gate, now bricked up, which I have already said is in the south wall. Among that debris, he told us, had been the composite columns of style C which I was showing him in the photographs. He went on to say that about twenty years before—we were at that time in the year 1934—someone had auctioned off a lot of pillars from among the debris, and these figures had been among the lot sold. He added, without knowing my own nationality, that some of the auctioned material had been taken to America.

The old man's story impressed me at the time, even though I did not know then that the original purchasers of the Museum's pieces also had been told that the pieces had once been part of the Perumāl temple complex (see above, p. 18 f.).

Hoping then to add to my information, I went with my two helpers, both being Vaishnava Brahmans, to the Perumāl (Kūḍal Alagar) temple. Before going we were told that I, as a European and a non-Hindu, would not be allowed to enter, but my companions got me past the gatekeeper for a visit of almost half an hour. I was not permitted to visit the main shrine, but I was taken to the side temple, which is dedicated to Lakṣmī, wife of Vishnu, and I went around to the rear of the main temple, taking a number of photographs. I heard murmurs of protest from people inside the temple enclosure as soon as I entered, and these increased in volume, but in the short time I had I satisfied myself that I could learn nothing there about the architectural arrangement of our pieces. The temple has been completely

rebuilt, entirely in late Madura (modern) style, and the ground where the Museum's composite columns would have stood is covered with the new structure. My Hindu helpers stayed longer but were able to add nothing of value.¹⁰

The tradition, known to someone at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1920 and independently found by me in Madura in 1934, that our pieces came originally from the Lakṣmī side temple of the Perumāl temple, seems credible and is probably true. The main shrine of that temple is such that all our columns, except possibly those of style Ca and style Sa (the latter already accounted for at the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple complex), could have come from an ancillary shrine contemporary with it, standing on the site of the present Lakṣmī temple. Columns appear there similar to those of our style Sb, Sc, and Sd, although those that I saw were all in the outer *maṇḍapam* and were taller than ours. Moreover, in the outer part of the main shrine there are carved pillars with figures like those of our style C, although again larger: such pillars are common in the South from Vijayanagara times on.

Since it is probable that the most important pieces in the Museum's *maṇḍapam* were originally erected in the now replaced Lakṣmī side temple of the Perumāl temple, it is necessary to refer them chronologically to the date of that temple. This date it is impossible to fix accurately, but we can arrive at rough conclusions that seem plausible. First, the pieces from this temple conform so well in style to the elements of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple that they cannot be very many decades removed in time, and the latter, as I have tried to show, is likely to be of the middle of the sixteenth century. Secondly, the destroyed Lakṣmī temple, in view of the stylistic similarity of its known elements of the main Perumāl temple, and failing

¹⁰ The next morning I tried again to get into the Perumāl temple, to examine the iconography, but this time the gatekeeper would not admit me, and in fact lamented seriously that he had admitted me the day before. It seems that I had crossed the gods' processional path, and a purification ceremony was necessary, for which I was assessed the sum of about sixty cents. Although I offered to pay for a second ceremony, I was still refused admittance.

any evidence to the contrary, is likely to be of a date close to that of the main Perumāl temple.

Evidence for the date of the Perumāl temple is found in inscriptions which it contains.¹¹ One of these, on the south wall of the *mandapam* in front of the temple, records that stones were supplied for building the *ardhamandapam* (pillared hall before the sanctum) and the *garbhagṛha* (sanctum) by a certain Kandāḍai Konammam, and mentions Rāmarāja Viṭṭhaladeva Mahārāja and his subordinate Timmappa Nāyakar. Rāmarāja Viṭṭhaladeva was Viceroy of the South for the emperor of Vijayanagara at least from 1544 to 1557,¹² and exercised some sort of supervision over affairs in the south in 1535.¹³ Timma (Timmappa), his younger brother, was apparently associated with him during those years.¹⁴ The inscription goes on to say that this work was finished during the administration of Yellappa Nāyakar, whom I am unable to identify, but I assume that he cannot have been much later than Viṭṭhaladeva and Timmappa. A date of around 1560 cannot be far wrong for this repair work.

Another inscription¹⁵ on the north, west, and south walls of the central shrine of this temple records that this same Timmappa gave money and an offering house to the temple; and still another inscription,¹⁶ dated equivalent to A. D. 1551, records the gift to this temple of three villages for offerings and festivals.

These inscriptions on the main shrine of the temple can at best offer only clues to the date of the demolished Lakṣmī side temple, which itself, since it has been rebuilt, contains no inscriptions. There is the possibility that some of the loose inscribed stones lying in the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple compound, mentioned above,¹⁷ came from the Lakṣmī temple, but we dare

¹¹ Nos. 557, 558, and 559 of 1911: see Rang Inscript II. 999 (entries Nos. 72-74); cf. Sewell Antiquities I. 292. The first inscription used by me is No. 557.

¹² See Rang IA 43. 231-2.

¹³ See Aiyar Nāyaks 62.

¹⁴ See notes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in Aiyar Nāyaks 14, 91.

¹⁵ No. 558 of 1911, Rang Inscript II. 999 (entry No. 73).

¹⁶ No. 559 of 1911, Rang Inscript II. 999 (entry No. 75).

¹⁷ Summarized in Rang Inscript II. 997-8 (entries Nos. 60D-68). The oldest may possibly be of the twelfth century; the only one bearing the positive date is of A. D. 1546 (entry No. 68), being that of Rāmarāja Tirumalarāya Mahārāja, a member of the Vijayanagara royal family.

not assume so. We are thrown back, for an opinion on the Lakṣmī temple date, to the style of the pieces coming from it, which are most probably of the sixteenth century, and the possibility that this side temple was being built or rebuilt or repaired at about the same time that the repairs were being made to the main shrine as recorded in the inscriptions which I have quoted above, that is, at about the middle of the sixteenth century. It would be rash to assume a later date, and it might not be unreasonable to assume one slightly earlier, namely, some time between 1509 and 1530, when Krishna Deva Rāya was emperor of Vijayanagara. He was celebrated not only as conqueror and ruler but also as builder, and he gave help to many temples in South India, whether Shaiva or Vaishnava, notably at Chidambaram and Tiruvannamalai.¹⁸ The Madura temples, devastated and injured by the Mohammedans (1324-71),¹⁹ may have been reconstructed at that time. This guess—and it is no more—would put the date of the pieces from the Lakṣmī temple at some time between 1509 and 1550, or roughly in the first half of the sixteenth century, a conclusion that is not improbable. It would then be of about the same date as that which I have suggested for the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple, that is, about the middle of the sixteenth century, but perhaps slightly older.

The original use of the Museum's pieces seems clear. As I have already pointed out, the height of the columns indicates that they were erected in the *ardhamandapam* before the inner shrine. Precisely similar columns stand in corresponding positions in the Mīnākṣī temple in Madura (Figs. 50-52).

The use of the carved slabs (Figs. 31-37) presented a problem,²⁰ but they correspond closely to slabs used in friezes high up in the *mukhamandapam* of the Vishnu temple at Alagar (Fig. 49), or Alagarmalai, about thirteen miles northeast of Madura and inside the Nāyaka *mandapam* outside the fort at the same place. These I saw myself, and Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan has written me that he has seen a similar course in a correspond-

¹⁸ Rang IA 43. 44-5.

¹⁹ Rang IA 43. 4.

²⁰ I omit all the untenable suggestions that were offered to account for these.

ing position at the Chokkappa Nāyaka *mandapam* in Madura. In every case they are accompanied by a course of slabs ornamented with the *kūdu* motif,²¹ and it is significant that a number of such " *kūdu* pieces " are lying among the debris at the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple (Figs. 46, 47), although the Museum has none. These pieces correspond to nothing in any of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple buildings, and were evidently brought from the Lakṣmī temple.

The conclusions to be drawn from the discussion above are as follows:

1. The Museum's pieces belonged originally to two, possibly three, temples: (a) columns Sa belonged to the Āṇḍāl shrine of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple—the aged temple servant told me that four of the columns originally standing around the inner sanctum, and now replaced by quite modern columns, were among those auctioned off and purchased and sent to America; so, too, the corbels and lion capitals probably also came from that temple; (b) columns of styles C, Sb, Sc, Sd, and the carved frieze pieces came from the old, now replaced, Lakṣmī temple of the Perumāl (Kūḍal Alagar) temple; (c) columns of style Ca came from some other source, not identified.

2. The date of the pieces from the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple appears to be about the middle of the sixteenth century, perhaps slightly later; the date of the pieces from the Lakṣmī temple seems to be about the middle of the sixteenth century, perhaps slightly earlier.

3. The pieces appear to have been used in the pillared room (*ardha-mandapam*) in the shrine (*vimāna*) just before the inner sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) and its antechamber.

On the basis of these conclusions, therefore, the pieces have been set up to reproduce, as nearly as they make possible, such a pillared room.

²¹ See above, p. 8 ff., for discussion of the *kūdu* motif.

IV

SCULPTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY OF THE
MANDAPAM

SCULPTURALLY, the pieces in the *mandapam* are the culmination of a long evolution. Although they come from South India, it is the iconography, more than the technique and style of the sculpture, that distinguishes them from contemporary work executed in other parts of India. The stylistic evolution of Indian sculpture starts with Asoka in the third century B. C., when there existed side by side work which was technically primitive and work which was advanced. It is followed, as at Bharhut, by a stage when the art remains frontal, but develops an angularity, although one full of vigor. The next stage is of modeled three-dimensional work, as at Bodh Gayā, succeeded in the century before our era by an art of complicated but classically ordered composition, for example, at Sanchi. In the centuries following this came freer treatment, and in southern India a wild and exuberant type of composition with astonishing line effects, as at Amarāvatī. The Augustan age of Indian sculpture is under the Gupta monarchs, from the fourth century A. D. to the sixth, when there were an elegance and finish of treatment and a rhythm in the completed product that have never been excelled. Following these came an elaboration of types, themes, and compositions into the multitude of forms developed in medieval India, which express the most recondite of her spiritual ideas. Since the destructive iconoclastic Mohammedan invasions sculpture has not advanced. Indian sculpture has not regained the glories of the medieval works executed in the dark interiors of the rock-cut cave temples of Elūrā and Elephanta.

In the south the involvements of medieval sculpture are predictable from the mural carvings at Bādāmi (sixth century) and shortly afterwards at Māmallapuram, and still later in the cave temples at Elūrā. Under the Vijayanagara rulers (four-

teenth to sixteenth century) there is full development of the barbaric wildness of conception and elaboration of iconographic types that continue to the present in South India, though in more stereotyped form. Naturalism does not exist, if it ever did in India except incidentally. Everything is reproduced from mental images, not from living models.¹

The pieces in the Museum's *mandapam* have the same general character as that of the sculptures in the *mandapams* at Velur and Conjeevaram (Fig. 61) dating in the centuries shortly before. They conform even more closely to the vigorous, if artificial, style of their well-known contemporaries in the various *mandapams* of the Minâkshî and Sundareśvara temples in Madura (Fig. 50-53).

Iconographically, the *mandapam* illustrates a few of the rich and uncounted number of types that adorn South Indian temples. Some conceptions are hardly more than the most primitive folk creation; others symbolize ideas of unique metaphysical profundity. Figures are posed in conventional attitudes, every one of which has a name in the books describing gesture and pose, and a significance.² So rich is South Indian iconography that many of the minor types have as yet had only brief description in works of reference, and some none at all. The identification of figures on the Museum's piece is not always certain, and perhaps in a few cases there are types which only craftsmen's tradition could explain, a tradition which is hard to meet with. Yet the content of the sculptures is missed without this knowledge, and it has been necessary to try to find the meaning.

The following subjects appear on the pieces in the *mandapam*:

Deities (*deva*) and their demonic rivals (*asura*)

Vishnu, seated, four-armed, C3

standing, two armed (?), C3

Nârâyaṇa, F7

¹ For the history of Indian sculpture see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, E. Weyhe, 1927); Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1933).

² See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Mirror of Gesture*, 2nd edition (New York, E. Weyhe, 1936).

Krishna *avatāra* (incarnation)

- Bakāsuramardaka (killing the heron demon), C4
- Bāla (child) crawling, C9, C10
 - dancing, C1, C7, C11, C12
 - dancing with his brother Bala-rāma, (?) C6
 - Navanītacora (butter-thief), C10
 - Curd-stealing, C12
- Venugopāla (flute-playing young cowherd), C7, C8, C12
- Balarāma *avatāra* (?), C6
- Rāma *avatāra*, C2(?), Sd, F1-F8, Fm
- Indra, F7
- Brahmā, F7
- Sūrya, (?) C3
- Lakṣmī, Sb
- Garuḍa, C3, C9
- Aiyanār, C11
- Bali (?), C12
- Grāmadevatā (village godling) (?), C1

Semi-divine creatures and mythical animals

- gandharva* (heavenly dancer, singer, musician), Ca, C5, C6, C8, C11, Sa
- kinnara* (heavenly musician, hybrid horse-man) Tumburu, C11
- kimpuruṣa*, or *bhārunḍa* (hybrid human and bird), C6, C11
- apsaras* (heavenly danseuse), C4, C5, C8, C11, C12, Sa
- yakṣa*, C9
 - as atlantid, C3
 - on lion, Ca
- haṁsa*, C7

Epic figures

- Rāma and Sītā (hero and heroine of the Rāmāyaṇa) and

Rāma's parents, half-brothers, their mothers, *r̄sis* (sages), *vānaras* (Rāma's monkey allies) with their king Sugrīva and general Hanumat, *rāksasas* and *rākṣasīs* (male and female demons), and other figures in the story, F1-F8, Fm

Daśaratha, F2, F7, F8

Kauśalyā, F2, F3(?), F6(?)

Kaikeyī, F2, F6(?)

Sumitrā, F2

Rāma, C2(?), Sc, F1-F8, Fm

Sītā C2(?), F1, F3, F4, F5, Fm

Lakṣmaṇa, Sc, F2, F3, F4, Fm

Bharata, F2, F3, F6

Satrughna, F2, F3, F6

Hanumat, C2, C7, F5

Sugrīva, C10, F1, F5

Vālin, F5

Vibhīṣaṇa(?), F4

Mārīca, Fm

Tāṭakā, F8

Pāṇḍavas (heroes of the Mahābhārata)

Arjuna(?), C9

Bhīma, C6

Sahadeva(?), C8

Human beings

r̄si (sage), C3, C5, C11, F3, F6, F7, F8

Nārada(?), C5

Vasiṣṭha, F7

R̄ṣyaśrīṅga, F7

Viśvāmitra, F8

Bharadvāja, F3, F6,

Vyāghrapāda, C1, C5

ālvār (Vaishnava saints in South India), C1, C4, C5, C8,

C12

ācārya (Vaishnava teacher), C3

Rāmānuja, C8

Devotee, lay(?), C1, C3, C4, C10, C12, Sb
 king, C2(?), C4(?); see also under "Epic figures"
 unidentified
 male worshippers, Sa, C3
 pregnant woman, C5, C11
cāmara (fly-whisk) bearer, female, Sc.
 erotic scene, C8, Sa

Monkey, Ca, C8, C9, C10
 Fish intertwined, C7, C10, Sc

With these appear much conventionalized foliage ornamentation, lions as capitals, as supports of thrones, and as ornaments over figures, symbolizing in one way or another royalty, power, or nobility.

The iconography is Vaishnava, that is, it centers in various ways around the god Vishnu in several of his forms, and this condition is to be expected of pieces coming from a shrine dedicated to Lakṣmī, Vishnu's wife. It belongs specifically to the Tēngalai (Southerner) sect, which makes the sectarian forehead mark with a prolongation down to the top of the nose.³ It overlaps at only a few points with Shaiva iconography, that is, image-making associated with the god Shiva (*Siva*). To the worshippers of Vishnu that god is in every way supreme, as enunciated in the Bhagavad Gītā, and as illustrated among our sculptures in frieze slab F3, where the other gods seek his aid against the demon Rāvaṇa. He is shown in his normal four-armed seated form and as Nārāyaṇa resting upon the endless serpent Śeṣa on the primeval waters, in which form there is generally represented a lotus springing from his navel with the god Brahmā seated on it. He appears in two of his major incarnations, that is as Rāma (Rāmacandra, Rāma son of Daśaratha), the hero of the epic Rāmāyaṇa, and as Krishna, darling of the milkmaids in the forest of Vṛndāvana, teacher of the Bhagavad Gītā in the Mahābhārata, and even more than Rāma the object of ecstatic devotion. Saints, teachers, and worshipping

³ See Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* VI, 703b.

laymen, all of Vaishnava sects, appear in the sculptures, and sages who guided Rāma. The columns depict figures only in isolation, but the frieze slabs illustrate the narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa, and doubtless the original series told that epic completely. Much of Vishnu mythology is not illustrated, including most of the *avatāras* (incarnations).

Most of the iconographic distinctions will be given in the description of the separate parts of the *mandapam*, but a very few generalities may be mentioned here. One of the main external differences between classes of beings lies in the headdress. Gods and royal males, human or other, usually wear a conical cap (*kirīṭamakuta*), as in the main figures of columns C2, C11. Goddesses normally wear a headdress looking like a series of inverted pots (*karaṇḍamakuta*), as on the right-hand side of C2, and sometimes human males wear a more or less similar cap, as in the main figure of C6. Ascetics wear their hair in a matted coil, usually treated very conventionally, as in the main figures of C1 and C5; a different representation, in chignons, appears in the frieze slabs, as in F5 and others. The infant Krishna often has his hair in a round knot on top of his head, as in the case of the crawling child Krishna on the right-hand side of C9. Human women normally wear their hair in a large knot falling on the side, as in C1, C2, C5, F5. Neither sex is clothed above the waist, but each wears a lower garment wrapped around the legs several times. Women sometimes wear a breast band, as in the figure on the right of C2. Elaborate jewelry is worn, consisting of necklaces, bracelets, armlets, anklets, and earrings. The latter are of various sorts, sometimes being shaped like a makara (mythical creature like a crocodile) and called *makarakundala*, as in C2, sometimes being of cylindrical form like a leaf curved in a spiral (*patrakundala*), as in C8, sometimes consisting of a group of concentric jeweled rings (*ratnakundala*), as in C12. Lotus buds are often worn behind the ears.⁴ Ascetics may carry staff and water jug (*kamandalu*), as in the figure on the right-hand side of C1, at the bottom.

⁴ On the headdress and earrings, see Rao I. 1.24-30, Gravely and Ramachandran 18-19.

The tone of the sculptures is one of joy. It has been a constant marvel to westerners that Indian religions, although viewing corporeal life so pessimistically, yet present so much happiness in their art. From the time of Bhārhut and Sanchi, starting with the second century B. C., Buddhism has adored the memory of its founder with scenes of loveliness and pleasure enjoyed by human, semi-divine, and divine singers and dancers, and fertility and vegetation divinities. Jain and Hindu sculpture and painting have had the same characteristic. In the carvings of this *mandapa*, music and the dance appear everywhere, with even scenes of unabashed eroticism, and the saints and teachers shown on the pillars are represented as joyously preaching of the ecstatic bliss they have won through their devotions, or are treated with a light touch in amusing postures. All this is the Hindu equivalent of the Christian heaven with its angels and harps and hymns and somewhat incongruous bearded patriarchs scattered about among the clouds, and is on a lower plane than the philosophical monism (non-dualism) that moves the most profound of Indian thinkers. Life in a sensual heaven, in any sort of heaven, is only temporary, bound to be followed by rebirth, even for the gods, except the supreme god in his incorporeal, indescribable, inconceivable form. Yet it is these lower heavens with their intelligible pleasures that move the hearts of the masses. The old divinities of the field and forest, the sky and the under-earth, custodians of the treasures of nature and givers of progeny and material increase, embody realization of the defeated earthly desires of the Indian multitude, and it is they and their activities that this multitude wishes to see in sculpture. The great philosophers belong in the distant jungle, not the temples; they move in solitude rather than among the throng. Their rare victory in the struggle against the beginningless and endless round of rebirth with its clinging and mortal tentacles gives a perfect finial to the faith, but it is too remotely elevated in the distant empyrean for any but the most highly evolved spiritual sight to apprehend. It only lends a hope considered real, but too vague and unattainable for ordinary folk, to whom Pan and

Olympus are much nearer than the Ding an sich. Tad Ekam (That One) is an admitted truth, and Vishnu in his form that is beyond the senses is That One to his followers, but most of them aim to seize the joys of a heaven only one step above their life on earth. The god humanly incarnate as Krishna and Rāma, to whom a devotee may go for comfort in this life and from whom he may expect happiness in the next, are comprehensible deities. In the heavens of these gods who have been men the faithful will dwell, not eternally of course, yet for decades of thousands of years, and that is time enough to satisfy the average imagination. There they will enjoy delights which are those of the present world heightened to the *n*th power. The very prospect relieves the pain of the here and now, as much for Hindus as a similar prospect does for Christians, and in their art they may describe the present with the ease of heart that the thought of such a heaven produces. It is this kind of hope, springing as a consolation from religion, that animates the greater part of sculpture in the average Hindu temple, as it does in this *mandapam*.

V

DESCRIPTION OF THE COLUMNS

AS THE plan of the *maṇḍapam*¹ (more correctly *ardhamanda-pam*) shows, it has four rows of columns, the columns of the two inner rows being composite (*anivettikkāl* or *aniyotṭikkāl*) and those of the outer rows being simple (*tūṇ*, *tūṇam*). Across the front is a transverse row of simple columns. This is a normal arrangement for the *ardhamanda-pam* (pillared room) before the inner sanctum of a temple, as appears above in the ground plan of the Rukmiṇī temple of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi complex (see facing p. 17). Above the composite pillars and their corbels are lion capitals, as is also customary in such parts of sixteenth-century temples in Madura (Figs. 44, 50-52), and the ceiling height is therefore increased by these elements. Still higher, and between the columns are inserted the carved frieze slabs. In this section it is proposed to describe the columns. The corbels, as appears above (p. 12), are of late Vijayanagara or early Madura (Nāyaka) period, without connecting band between the inverted lotus flower with seed vessel and the body of the corbel,¹ and the lion capitals symbolize only power and need no further description here. The frieze will be described in a separate section.

At the left and right of the doorway are two composite columns of style C (C1 and C2) and at the left and right of them are the two columns of style Ca. Across the opening at the front of the *ardhamanda-pam* between the ends of the two interior rows of columns are two columns of style Sa. At the front end of the interior rows are columns Sb (on the left) and Sc (on the right). The rest of those in the interior rows are C columns, and in the two exterior rows are Sa and Sd columns. The order of description here will be as follows Ca, C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, C6, C7, C8, C9, C10, C11, C12, Sa, Sb, Sc, Sd

¹ The flowers of such corbels may be either lotuses or plantains; see Rama Tiru 28.

(Figs. 2-29). The plan of the room will show that this is an order constituting essentially a tour of the columns.

Arrangement of Columns and Frieze Pieces in the Mandapam

S = simple columns (4 styles)

C = compound column (2 styles)

F = frieze slab

Rear Wall

Sd	C7		C8	Sd
Sd	C6		C9	Sd
	[F8]		[F1]	
Sd	C5		C10	Sd
	[F7]		[F2]	
Sa	C4		C11	Sd
	[F6]		[F3]	
Sd	C3		C12	Sa
	[F5]		[F4]	
Sa	Sb	Sa	Sc	Sd
Ca	C1		C2	Ca

Doorway

The most interesting columns are clearly those with figures at the front, about the size of an average Indian man. Similar columns are frequent in South India, and the range of subjects is wide. Gods may be so presented, as in various parts of the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple in Madura; epic heroes, like the Pāṇḍavas (heroes of the Mahābhārata), appear in the same temple and elsewhere, as in King Krishnappa's temple near Palamkottah² and at Kumbhakonam;³ many kings had their portraits done in this manner;⁴ indeed no exhaustive survey has

² Rang IA 45. 90.

³ Jou-Du Arch, plate XXXIX, A.

⁴ See Aravamuthan, especially pp. 45-66, with the accompanying illustrations; Rao II. 2. 481; Sewell Antiquities II. 249.

ever been made of the subjects of such pillars, and to present appearances the number of possible subjects is unlimited. Similar to these columns are the kind with rearing horse, lions, or *yālis* (mythical creatures with a lion's body and head and an elephant's trunk), as along the outside of the *mandapams* at Velur, Conjeevaram, and many other places.

Ca. Fig. 26. The two composite columns (*anivettikkāl* or *anjiyottikkāl*) of this style are almost identical. As has been stated above (p. 30), their source has not been identified. The main element of these monolithic composite columns is a column with square capital. In front of it are imposed, one before the other, two very much attenuated columns of bulbous capital, and pilasters based upon the latter style of column are impressed upon the sides and rear of the basic column. For drawings of these types of column, see above, p. 15. The characteristic features of the secondary columnar elements of the round columns have been reduced, and those elements have been made square instead of round or round with octagonal beveling. The lower part of the shaft is ornamented with conventional foliage designs, and the upper part with similar designs or beading. In the base the *parimāṇa* bears small lions, the *kapota* (*kabodam*) has the usual *kūḍu* ornamentation, the *kānda* is plain, the *padma* has lotus-petal decoration, and the *upāṇa* is plain. Above the capital is the *madalai* (overhanging border), with foliage, male *yakṣas* (dwarfs) riding a lion, a monkey-like creature (*vānara*), and dancers with flying hair, and a drummer, these last three probably being *gandharvas* (heavenly dancers and musicians).

C1. Figs. 2, 3. The sage Vyāghrapāda. This column and all the others of style C are *anivettikkāl*, that is, composite columns, made of a square-capital column, with a bulbous-capital column imposed upon it in front as a pilaster. Before the pilaster there is in every case a figure carved in almost the full round. The whole composite column is a monolith. The square-capital member of the composite column has the square parts (*caturam*) ornamented with figures or floral designs. The prismatic or fluted parts (*kaṭṭu*) consist of bands with eight, sixteen, or

even more angles. The pilaster is much attenuated, as also in pillar Ca, and above the capital is an overhanging border, in this case with lions beside the floral motif, sheltering the figure. In the pedestal the plinth (*upāna*) is ornamented with foliage, the *kānda* contains conventionalized lotuses and worshipping figures, seated with the hands reverently joined in the *añjali* gesture, possibly meant to represent the donor. On the *kapota* are the usual *kūdu* decorations, and in one of those on the left-hand side of the column appears the *gandharva* (heavenly musician) face (*mukha*), so that the ornament can be called *gandharvamukha*.

The figure represented is the *r̄si* (sage) Vyāghrapāda, whose name means "Tiger-[leg and] foot." This *r̄si* is popular in South India, and an excellent example of him carved on such a pillar as this appears before the shrine of the goddess in the Mīnākṣī temple, Madura. His fame begins with the Rig Veda, where as Vyāghrapād Vāsiṣṭha he is the author of the verses 16-18 in the hymn IX. 97. In South India he and another sage Patañjali are especially associated with the god Shiva,⁵ in that god's form of Naṭarāja (Lord of the Dance), for whom he gathers flowers "to protect him from the pricks of thorns," the stings of insects or the bites of snakes, etc. Nadarāja [Naṭarāja] gave him tiger's feet."⁶ Yet he seems to have additional functions, as appears from an examination of this and two other representations. One of these is on our column C5 left bottom, and the other is the image in the *maṇḍapam* before the goddess' shrine in the Mīnākṣī temple (Fig. 51). In all three he wears his hair in the matted coil (*jaṭāmakuta*) characteristic of *r̄sis*, here elaborately conventionalized and even ornamented, and on pillar C5 so much ornamented that he might be thought to be wearing a conical cap (*kiriṭamakuta*), but in the Mīnākṣī *maṇḍapam* example with his hair more simply shown. In all three illustrations he has a beard. In this example (C1) his right arm is broken off, but it held an object of which the end

⁵ Cf. Rao II. 1. 255, and plate LX, which is so badly printed as to be indistinguishable.

⁶ Quotation from Jou-Du Icon M 52 (Jou-Du Icon 56), and Figure 14.

still appears beside his head. The object is perfectly preserved in the Mīnākṣī temple sculpture and in the small carving on C5, left 3: it is long with a round protuberance at the end, and seems to be a *vīṇā* (lute), like the one held in the hands of the female lute-player in the Kalyāṇa Maṇḍapam of the Mīnākṣī temple (Fig. 53), and in those of the goddess Sarasvatī at Halebid (Fig. 54).⁷ In his left hand he holds another object, damaged in C1, but preserved on C5 and in the Mīnākṣī temple. Unfortunately, in these two latter examples it does not agree in appearance. In C5 it is not clearly distinguishable but seems to be a solid object with flying strings or a loop; in the case of the Mīnākṣī temple example my photograph is not clear, but the object seems to be solid. It looks much like the small drum (*damaru*) with a bead on a string used as a musical instrument,⁸ and I am inclined to think that that is what it is. In both C1 and the Mīnākṣī temple figure the left hand rests upon the hip, but in C5 it is held up in the air. All three images appear to represent a moment in dancing. Vyāghrapāda seems, therefore, to be a sage who has an association with music and dance, and to attend upon Vishnu, we may suppose, as do also Nārada and Tumburu (see under C5 and C11). Curiously, his tail flying in the air (C5), with a tuft at the end, looks more like a lion's tail than a tiger's: the reason may be that in India folklore the two animals are practically interchangeable.

Right side. On the right-hand side of the column, on the faces of the square parts of the shaft, are carvings, as follows: (1) *Yāli* (conventionalized lion with elephant's trunk) and foliage. (2) Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, one of the Vaishnava saints. The identification may perhaps be questioned. According to Gravely and Ramachandran 9, he is represented "with knot of hair in centre of head, sacred thread absent, standing with sword in right hand and shield in left." This description is well satisfied by the picture in Rao II. 2, plate CXXXVI (lower register, last to the right). The sword in our example seems to be dam-

⁷ Cf. also Rao I. 1. 9, and Plate III, Fig. 11. See below under C2.

⁸ See Rao I. 1. 9, and Plate III, Fig. 13.

aged and the shield is not present, perhaps having been broken off (in Rao's illustration the shield is not shown full but with only the edge to the front).⁹ Tirumaṅgai's story is given in Hooper 16: The son of a general, he was named Nīla (Blue), in honor of Vishnu, whose color is blue. He fell in love with a nymph, whom he found in a lily pool, but she refused to marry him unless he should become a true Vaishnava. By the grace of a deity he received on his body the twelve marks of a Vaishnava, and the nymph then insisted that he should feed 1,008 Vaishnavas daily for a year. He agreed; the marriage took place; and from then on he was Tirumaṅgai. To keep his promise he defrauded his overlord, who then imprisoned him. Varadarājāsvāmi of Kāñcī (that is, Vishnu in the form worshipped at Conjeevaram) gave him a hidden hoard with which he purchased his freedom and fed the Vaishnavas for a long time. When the money was exhausted he took to robbery. Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) took the form of a wealthy Brahman and let Tirumaṅgai rob him, but the robber could not lift the booty from the ground. Vishnu revealed himself, and Tirumaṅgai was filled with inspiration, which showed itself in hymns. Later the god Raṅganātha (Vishnu) commissioned him to rebuild his temple at Śrīraṅgam, and again he took to robbery, this time of a Buddhist shrine. Later when his workmen demanded payment he had them drowned in the river Kāvēri (Kāverī), and told their relatives that these drowned men would be happier at the feet of Śrī Raṅganātha than they had been on earth. He seems to have lived in the first half of the ninth century.¹⁰ (3) A bent figure leaning on a staff held by his left hand and carrying a water vessel (*kamandalu*) in his right hand. The headdress, which seems to be a conical royal cap, would be against identifying the figure with a *r̄si* or any other religious unless it be the Vaishnava saint (*ālvār*) Kulaśekhara, once a king in Travancore in the

⁹ Hooper 17 says that Tirumaṅgai in his images always carries the trident which he won from the Shaiva saint Sambandhar, whom he conquered in debate; cf. Rao II. 2. plate CXXXVI, upper register, central figure.

¹⁰ Variantly, this carving might be considered to represent Manmatha, god of love, who carries in his right hand five flower-tipped arrows and in his left his bow made of sugar cane. The bow does not appear, nor can traces of it be seen here.

first half of the ninth century. He was so devoted to the story of Rāma that he abdicated from his throne and wandered to Vaishnava shrines (see Hooper 13-14). But the images of Kulaśekhara seem to show him otherwise than as here represented: Gravely and Ramachandran (p. 9) describe him as "with royal headdress to indicate his kingly rank; standing with hands in the *añjali* pose"; and the illustration in Rao II. 2, plate CXXXVI, shows him exactly as described. Our figure might, on the other hand, be meant for the village divinity (*grāmadevatā*) Chappāṇi-Karūppan, who is described (Gravely and Ramachandran 17) as "lame and leaning on a staff," while the image illustrated (Gravely and Ramachandran, plate xxiii, fig. 15) shows him with conical headdress and carrying staff and water jug (*ibid.*, p. 140). Karūppan is an attendant upon Madurai-Vīran, considered to be a deified general of the Nāyakas (see Gravely and Ramachandran 17, Whitehead 33). In general, it would seem that this image is less likely to be Karūppan than to be Kulaśekhara.

Left side. (1) The Upper panel (face of square section) contains a devotee (*bhakta*), head apparently shaved, as of a layman, holding a rosary (*akṣamālā*) in his left hand, seated in easy posture. (2) The child Krishna dancing. Krishna is an incarnation undertaken by the god Vishnu to destroy the wicked king Kaṁsa of Mathura, who was Krishna's uncle. The child's birth had been foretold, and the king tried to destroy him, but he was foiled because immediately on birth Krishna was transferred from the prison in which his mother was lying to the other side of the river Yamunā (Jumna) and put with the cowherd Nanda and his wife Yaśodā in the forest of Vṛndāvana. There he grew up, a joy to Yaśodā and all the *gopīs* (milkmaids) and *gopas* (cowherds). He played many pranks in his infancy and slew enemies sent against him by Kaṁsa; later became the lover of all the *gopīs*, dancing with them in the forest and multiplying himself until each thought she had Krishna, although the real Krishna was with his mistress Rādhā. In due time he accomplished his mission of slaying Kaṁsa. In the Mahābhārata he

is charioteer to Arjuna (see C9), one of the five Pāñdava brothers, and recites to him the Bhagavad Gītā. He is the object of an enormous amount of devotional religion, and the parable of Krishna and the *gopīs* symbolizes the relation between God and the human soul. In erotic literature and art Krishna and Rādhā are used to illustrate whatever is being described. A number of episodes from Krishna's life appear in the sculptures of these columns. In this one we see him as a child dancing with joy at having stolen butter. The hands are empty in this example, but in some they hold butter-balls. His hair is done in a knot characteristic of infant Krishna (*bālakṛṣṇa*) images (cf. Gravely and Ramachandran 18). (3) The lowest panel contains a conventionalized foliage decoration.

Back. (1) and (2) Conventional foliage designs. (3) A standing female, wearing her hair in a large bun at the left side of the head. Her right hand is held up at shoulder level and carries an object which I cannot identify but think is probably a lotus bud.

C2. Figs. 4, 5. Perhaps the coronation of Rāma. A king or god seated at ease (*sukhāsana*) on a lion throne, the right leg hanging down, the left bent with the sole of the foot resting upon the inside of the right thigh. The right arm is broken off and the left hand resting on the knee is damaged. Whatever attributes, if any, the hands may have held are now lost. Overhead is a tree, with much detail including parrots on the branches. The lack of attributes gives uncertainty to the identification, but some help may appear from the side figures, which here seem to accompany the main figure, rather than to stand separately, as on all other columns; they extend in size far beyond the dimensions of a single panel, and the panels not occupied by them hold only conventionalized animal and foliage designs. Of the side figures, that on the left as we face the figure is clearly of Hanumat, general of the *vānaras* (monkeys), who were Rāma's allies in his attack upon Rāvaṇa and the other *rākṣasas* (demons) in Laṅkā (Ceylon). The woman on the right wears a *karanya-makuṭa*, as though of a goddess, and a breast band like that of

Lakṣmī; but it is to be noted that Sītā, Rāma's wife, is frequently represented with a *karaṇḍamakuta* and a breast band (Gravely and Ramachandran, pp. 80-81, Nos. 2, 3, 5). The probability is therefore that the main image is of Rāma as king and would depict the same sort of scene, but with fewer figures, as is shown in Jou-Du Icon M, plate LIII, discussed on p. 83 (in the original French edition Plate XXXII A, discussed on p. 90) entitled "Rāmapatābhiseka" (Coronation of Rāma). The main figure of our sculpture is fully jeweled and wears *maka-rakundalas* (earrings in the shape of *makaras*). Hanumat, the monkey general, has lost his two arms and it is not possible to tell what was in them; perhaps he was carrying some of the mountains with which he and his followers bridged the strait between the Indian mainland and Ceylon so that Rāma and his army could pass over. Hanumat's tail has an object tied to its end which looks like a tuft or a bell; it is perhaps the fire-ball tied there when he was captured by the demons (*rākṣasas*) of Ceylon. When it was lighted he dashed off and set the city afire. Sītā, if the identification is correct, wears *patrakundalas* (spiral earrings like a curled leaf). In her right hand, now broken off, she probably had a lotus, it being customary for a goddess or a wife, when shown with her husband, to carry a lotus in the hand next to him (cf. Rao I. 1. 13; Gravely and Ramachandran, 92). Below her at her left stands a female attendant, whose two arms are broken off; it is likely that she carried a *cāmara* (fly whisk).

The back has only conventionalized floral decorations.

A fuller account of the Rāmāyaṇa story is given below in the description of the frieze (p. 66 ff.).

Another possibility would be that this group portrays some king of Vijayanagara with his wife and Hanumat, who is considered to be the protector of the capital of Vijayanagara (Gravely and Ramachandran 24), and that this king was the patron of the temple in which these images were originally installed. The objection to this interpretation would be that as a rule the king in such circumstances appears as a devotee with his hands in the reverential *añjali* attitude (see Gravely and Ramachandran 16, and Aravamuthan, *passim*).

C3. Figs. 6, 7. Garuḍa. He is the vehicle of Vishnu, and normally appears as part human being and part kite (hawk). Garuḍa from post-Vedic times on has this function, and sometimes carries the names *garutmant* and *suparṇa* ("well-winged"), which in the Rig Veda are applied to the sun (Macdonell 39, 152), a point which seems to show that Garuḍa owes at least part of his origin to that celestial body. In the epic there are many references to him (see Hopkins, index under "Garuda"), and he is king of the birds. His father was Kaśyapa, his mother Vinatā, and his elder brother Aruṇa, who is the charioteer of Sūrya, the sun god. His mother was kept in slavery by Kadrū, his father's other wife, and the sons of Kadrū, who were serpents, agreed to free Vinatā if Garuḍa would get them some of the gods' *amṛta* (drink of immortality, nectar). Garuḍa, after a battle, succeeded in getting it, but while the *nāgas* (serpents) were performing the necessary religious ceremonies before drinking it, the god Indra came and carried it away. The *nāgas* returned, found the *amṛta* gone, but licked the sharp *kuṣa* grass, where Garuḍa had placed it, and in so doing split their tongues—whence the tongues of snakes have to this day been forked and the *kuṣa* grass has been sacred. It happened that on the way to get the *amṛta* Garuḍa had met Vishnu and won his favor, agreeing in his turn to be Vishnu's vehicle and to serve as the device on Vishnu's banner. Garuḍa himself did not drink of the *amṛta* and remained mortal (Hopkins 21). The bird character of Garuḍa in this image is not so clear as in many other representations (cf. C9, right 3), but his conventionalized wing feathers protrude from his arms, and he has tusks and a serpent coiled around his headdress, making him conform to the types of two-armed images shown in metal images belonging to the Madras Government Museum (Gravely and Ramachandran 94-95) rather than to the four-armed and even more numerously armed types mentioned in Rao I. I. 285 ff. In his hands he carried an object, now broken, which was probably the *amṛta* vessel of the legend; in other types of images he carries it in one hand (cf. Rao, *loc. cit.*).

Right side. (1) Conventional foliage decoration and a *yakṣa* (vegetation spirit) kneeling on left knee with both hands held up as a supporter. He wears his hair in a knot hanging over on one side looking much like the kind of cap worn by the Nāyaka kings and others in their images (cf. Aravamuthan, Figs. 13, 25, 27, 28). (2) A devotee seated with right foot on the seat, knee up, and right arm resting on that knee; he holds a rosary (*aksamālā*) in the right hand. The left hand is damaged. On the forehead is a spot (*tilaka*). At the right shoulder is an object which I cannot identify. This devotee like those of C1, left 1, and C3, left 1, appears to be with shaved head, as though a layman (cf. image in Gravely and Ramachandran, plate xxiii, figure 4). (3) Male standing on a square pedestal, wearing ornaments and royal headdress (*kirītamakuta*). The arms are broken off, and the attributes are missing. This is possibly a figure of Vishnu in some two-armed form; note the four-armed Vishnu on the opposite side of this same column. Or it might be the sun god Sūrya, without halo; in which case each hand should have held a lotus (cf. Gravely and Ramachandran 15, 136).

Left side. (1) Two figures. At the left a rather pot-bellied man, with shaved head as though a layman (note on this same column, right side 2), seated and holding in his right hand an object which looks like a stalk of sugarcane, but may be meant for flowers or something else; in his left hand is another object, perhaps a bowl. At the right is a dancing male, perhaps a lay devotee or a *yakṣa* (vegetation spirit). (2) Vishnu, four-armed, seated with right leg folded on the seat and left leg hanging down before it. He wears ornaments and royal headdress, and carries the discus in his upper right hand and the conch in the upper left. The lower right hand is in the *varada* (gift-bestowing) position, and the lower left is broken off. (3) An ascetic with beard and matted hair, standing with left leg bent while he rests his two hands on his triangular-topped staff; he wears coiled earrings. He is perhaps some one of the *r̥sis* (cf. Rao II. 2. 567), although there are a few discrepancies in the representation, of which the chief is the lack of a water vessel.

Back, (1, 2, and 3). Conventional floral and foliage ornaments.

C4. Figs. 8, 9. Unidentified worshipper. A man standing with hands in *añjali* gesture, a *karaṇḍamakuta* cap on his head and lions overhead, probably indicating that he is royal or divine. His lower garment is short, as are those of Bhīma (C6) and Garuḍa (C3). Under his right arm seems to be a long object, but I cannot tell what it is. The tip of a moustache appears on the part of his face that still remains. The eye is slightly rounder than that of human beings, but not so round as those of the *kimnara* in C11 (Figs. 22, 23) or the monkey-king Sugrīva in C10 (Figs. 20, 21), and it has a slope unlike that of human beings or in fact that of any figure in this whole group of sculptures. He may be one of the donors of the shrine.

Right side. (1) *Apsaras* dancing, her hair with a large knot falling to her right. (2) *Apsaras* dancing, or possibly Mohinī: after the gods and the demons had churned the ocean and extracted the drink of immortality, Vishnu took the form of a beautiful female by this name, and danced before the demons (*asuras*) so that, lost in lascivious admiration of her, they might not notice while the gods drank up all the precious nectar. (3) An *ālvār*—one of the first three, namely Poygai, Bhūtat, Pey. He has a high knot of hair, appears to wear the sacred cord (*yajñopavita*), holds his hands before him in the reverential *añjali* pose, and might be any one of the following: Poygai, Bhūtat, Pēy (Gravely and Ramachandran 9; Rao II. 2, plate CXXXVI). These are the three first *Ālvārs*, and tradition makes them contemporaries. Their story (Hooper 11) is as follows: Pēy was born in a red lotus in Mylapore, Madras city. On the same day, at Māmallapuram, the ancient capital of the Pallava dynasty on the coast south of Madras, was born Bhūtat (Bhūtam), also in a flower. The day before, Poygai was born in a lotus in the tank at the temple of Vishnu in Kāñcī (Conjeevaram). One night all three happened to take shelter from the rain in a space that was too small for them. To their amazement they became conscious of a fourth among them, who was

God Himself. In the morning each broke into an ecstatic song of a hundred stanzas each. (Cf. C5, back 3; C8, right 3.)

Left side. (1) Conventional floral ornament. (2) Krishna slaying the heron demon (*bakāsuramardaka*). One of the demons (*asuras*) sent against the child Krishna by his wicked uncle Kamsa was that called Baka (heron). It attacked him and swallowed him, but Krishna caused it so much pain that it had to regurgitate. When it renewed the attack with its beak Krishna caught the upper and lower parts in his two hands and tore the animal in two. (3) A dancing girl, probably an *apsaras* or even Mohinī (for whom see above, on this same column, right 2), but she is a bit too stringy of figure to satisfy the usual Hindu full-fleshed ideals of ravishing feminine beauty.

Back. (1, 2, 3) Conventionalized foliage and floral ornaments.

C5. Figs. 10, 11. A seer (*rṣi*), probably Nārada. He wears his hair in the elaborate matted braids of the *jatāmakuta*, and has beard and moustache. Both arms are broken off, but each held an object. The left hand clearly held a fly-whisk (*cāmara*), the end of which rests on the left shoulder. On the right shoulder there remains a small bit of the object, which was evidently long, as the position of the remainder of the right arm shows. This object may reasonably be taken to have been a lute (*vīṇā*), similar to that held by the main image of column C1, the main image of C11, and the image at the bottom of the left side of this same column. Nārada is famed as the patron of music, inventor of the *vīṇā*, and teacher of music to men (Hopkins 153; Rao I. 1. 138, 153; Jou-Du Icon M 63; Wilkins 317; Popley 7; and Sanskrit lexicons under "Nārada"). He is a regular attendant upon Vishnu (see Rao I. 1. 82, 83, 88, 89, *et passim*; Jou-Du Icon M 63). Although he prided himself upon his skill, he nevertheless once received a rebuke from Vishnu, according to a well-known legend quoted by Popley, p. 7, from the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*. The god once led him into a building where there were many men and women weeping over their broken limbs. Vishnu asked why they wept, and they replied

that they were the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* (musical modes, taking the place in India of our tunes and melodies) created by the god Shiva, but so ill sung by a certain *rṣi* named Nārada that they were maimed, as he saw them. Their only hope of recovery was to be sung perfectly by Shiva or some one else. Nārada then fell before Vishnu and begged forgiveness for his ineptitude.

Right side. (1) A *gandharva* (heavenly musician) playing a *vīṇā* (lute: cf. Figs. 53, 54), which he holds on his lap, while an *apsaras* (heavenly courtesan and dancer) is dancing. (2) A male dancer, probably a *gandharva*. (3) Foliage decoration.

Left side. (1) A devotee, probably lay (cf. C1, left 1; C3 left 1). He sits with his right hand up, his left apparently resting palm downward on his left thigh, the attitude being one that suggests singing. (2) Tirumāngai Ālvār seems the best identification for this figure. For his story and iconography see above under C1, right 2. The violent posture is unlike that of any indisputable representation of this saint that I have seen. His sword appears to be turned back and down, with only the hilt showing above the hand. (3) Vyāghrapāda, for whom see above under C1.

Back. (1) Conventional floral ornamentation. (2) Pregnant female seated; the same as in C2, right 2. (3) One of the three ālvārs Poygai, Bhūtat, Pēy (see under C4, right 3; cf. also C8, right 3).

C6. Figs. 12, 13. Bhīma, one of the five Pāñdava brothers, heroes of the epic Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata has as its main theme the rivalry and war between the Pāñdavas and their cousins the Kauravas. The father of the Pāñdavas was King Pāñdu. One day he shot a buck and doe which he saw in sexual intercourse. These were a sage and his wife, and the sage in dying cursed Pāñdu for having killed animals in intercourse, the curse being that if he himself should ever again have sexual intercourse he should die. To get children Pāñdu's two wives, Kuntī and Mādrī, conceived with the aid of the gods. Three of the Pāñdavas were born from Kuntī, namely, Yudhiṣṭhira,

eldest and chief, son of Dharma (god of justice), Bhīma noted for his brute strength, son of Vāyu (the wind god), and Arjuna, beautiful and skillful, son of Indra. Two, the twins Nakula and Sahadeva, were born from Mādrī, being the sons of the Aśvins (heavenly horsemen and healers). The five won as their common wife Draupadī. Having been tricked out of their kingdom and all their possessions by their cousin, the Kaurava chief Duryodhana, they and Draupadī went into exile in the forest. In due time they assembled an army and in a terrific battle finally defeated the Kauravas and regained their kingdom. Around this skeleton is woven the text of the greatest single work in India, and one of the world's most important books. Myth, religion, law, fable, and many other departments of Indian thought take up large sections of it; one of the most famous parts is the Bhagavad Gītā (see under C9). The five Pāṇḍavas are favorite subjects of sculpture in South Indian temples, especially in Madura and the rest of the Pāṇḍya country, where Pāṇḍava and Pāṇḍya are by false popular etymology identified, and the Pāṇḍyan kings claim descent from the Pāṇḍavas. All five of the Pāṇḍavas are represented in the Mīnākṣī temple just before the shrine of the goddess on columns of the same type as ours, and other representations of the same heroes at Palamkottah and Kumbhakonam have been mentioned above (p. 40). In the Mīnākṣī group Yudhiṣṭhira, as identified for me, is a Bowman wearing a beard; Arjuna is a Bowman without a beard; Bhīma wields a club over his head; Nakula holds a bow in his left hand and has an uplifted sword in his right; Sahadeva holds a bow in his left hand and has his right hand resting on the hilt of his sword at his side.

This image is damaged in that the right arm is lost, but as it is it shows a heavy-set, powerful man standing on a lion pedestal. He is fully ornamented, wears jewel earrings (*rattanakundala*), carries a dagger at his waist, and has a *karandama-kūṭa* (pot-shaped headdress) of an exaggerated fullness (cf. Aravamuthan, Fig. 34). His left hand rests upon his hip in the pose called *kaṭyavalambita* (extended down to the hip). The

right arm was held up in a position which we can easily restore from the figure of Bhīma in the Mīnākṣī temple (Fig. 52), where he holds aloft his club. The end of the club, which was evidently of the same shape as that carried by Vishnu in some of Madras Government Museum metal images (Gravely and Ramachandran, plates i and ii), appears above Bhīma's head, not lifted quite so high in the air as is that of the Mīnākṣī Bhīma. The balance on the feet is the same in the two images, and the left hand is treated alike in both. Bhīma is poised ready to bring his club down upon an enemy. The moustache, according to Rao I. l. 279, is common from the late Pāṇḍya period.

Right side. (1) A lion and a *kimpuruṣī*, or *bhārundī* (female *kimpuruṣa*, *bhārunda*—see above under C3, left 1), hybrid creature, human head on a bird's body, a heavenly singer. (2) This figure has certain characteristics like that of Bhīma on the face of the pillar—it wears moustache and dagger, holds a pose much like that of Bhīma's but more exaggerated, swings an object over its head which looks something like Bhīma's club but with the end much bent. The left hand, instead of resting on the hip, appears to be shaking. The object over the head seems more like a lotus bud than a warrior's club, and the posture seems more like one of the dance than of the fight. These two features of the image and the shaking left hand suggest that this a dancer, perhaps a *gandharva*, reproducing Bhīma's movements as a dance. (3) This figure seems to be essentially the same as that of the panel above it, but the hair is spread out in a more terrifying form (cf. hair of god Aiyanār, or Hariharaputra, Gravely and Ramachandran 128, Rao II. 2, plate CXL). The lotus-club, if the explanation is correct, is held in the left hand, instead of the right, and the right hand now holds another object, perhaps meant to be a sword, which it agitates violently.

Left side. (1) Two dancing boys. The one at the left may be taken to be a Bāla Krishna (cf. above C1, left 2), and the one at the right may be the same or it may be Krishna's brother Balarāma. The hair of the left-hand figure clearly suggests Krishna (rather than a *gandharva*) ; the hair of the right-hand

figure is damaged. (2) Foliage ornament. (3) The same figure as that of the person on the corresponding panel of the opposite side of the same column. The hair is spread in the same fashion, and he holds an object in the right hand which this time is easily seen to be a sword, while the lotus-club, assuming it to be that, is again in the left hand. The pose is certainly one of the dance, not of battle, and the suggestion above that this is a dancer depicting Bhīma's achievements seems strengthened.

Back. (1, 2, 3) Conventional foliage and floral ornaments.

C7. Figs. 14, 15. Worshipper, probably a royal patron of the temple in which the sculptures were originally installed. He is fully ornamented, wearing *makarakundalas* (earrings made like *makaras*) and a headdress which is meant for royalty or gods. He stands in a reverential pose of worship with hands joined in the *añjali* gesture, and on his right shoulder is a small *cāmara* (fly whisk), which indicates that he considers himself an attendant upon the deity. Patrons of temples frequently have their images set up on pillars (see Aravamuthan, Figs. 25 ff.), and the *añjali* gesture is characteristic. Overhead are lions, which might signify royalty. There is no attempt at portraiture, and it is to be hoped that the sculpture does more than justice to the royal hips. On this column alone of the entire *mandapam*, the *nāgabandha* (snake bond) above the first cubical section of the column shows the snakes' tails, instead of only the hoods.

Right side. (1) Conventionalized *hamsa* (swan) with lotus stalk in its beak. (2) Dancing child Krishna, identifiable from treatment of the hair (cf. above C1, left 2). (3) Krishna Venugopāla, that is, Krishna as the youthful cowherd playing his flute. With the sweet music of his flute he enticed the other cowherds (*gopas*) and milkmaids (*gopis*), and as he went through the forest drew after him the cows, one of which is shown with him here. This conception is one of the most popular of Krishna, and it colors more than the Krishna legend; even among only partly Hinduized people, such as the Santālis, there are folk legends of cowherds and buffalo herders charming their animals with their flutes. The Venugopāla type may be either

four-armed (C12, right 3) or two-armed, as here (cf. Rao I. l. 207). In every case Krishna stands with one leg bent behind the other, while he holds the flute in his two hands.

Left side. (1) Two intertwined fish (cf. C10, right 1; Sc), recalling the connections of Madura with the fisher folk and the possible association of the chief deity of the city, Pārvatī as Mīnākṣī ("Fish-Eye"), with fishing. The emblem of the Pāṇḍya kings is a pair of fish (L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, 1914, p. 216), which are placed one above the other on seals and banners (A. C. Burnell, *Elements of South-Indian Palaeography*, 2nd ed., 1878, p. 107, plate XXXIII), rather than intertwined as here. (2) Hanumat, general of the *vānaras* (monkeys), who aided Rāma in his attack upon the demon Rāvaṇa. Hanumat is also represented on column C2; his function in the Rāmāyaṇa will be related below (p. 78 ff.), when we deal with the frieze, which records scenes from that epic. In this carving he kneels, his two hands level with his head and holding foliage. (3) Hanumat again, this time standing, his right hand held up vertically with palm flat, his left hand holding a lotus.

Back. (1, 2, 3) Conventionalized foliage and floral ornaments.

C8. Figs. 16, 17. Probably Sahadeva, one of the five Pāṇḍavas. The presence of Bhīma among the images (C6) suggests that the series originally showed all the Pāṇḍavas, as does the group before the Mīnākṣī shrine. Unfortunately, the Museum has only a part of the whole. This figure corresponds closely with that named for me at the Mīnākṣī temple as Sahadeva, who with his twin brother Nakula was the son of Mādrī and the two gods called the Aśvins (see above under C6). In the Mīnākṣī group Sahadeva holds a long bow upright in his left hand, and his right hand rests upon the hilt of his sheathed sword. Although damaged, our figure seems to correspond with that. The right hand rests upon the hilt of the sword, and the long curved lower half of the bow appears to be at his left side, the upper part having been broken off. The costume is that of

royalty and would fit one of the Pāñḍavas, as would also the lion pedestal, on which the hero stands, and the lions overhead. Nakula and Sahadeva are colorless characters in the story of the Mahābhārata; the strong personalities among the Pāñḍavas are the three others.

Right side. (1) Squatting monkey. This may possibly be meant for a *vānara*, one of Rāma's helpers. (2) The Vaishnava ācārya (teacher) Rāmānuja. Southern devotional (*bhakti*) Vishnavism, starting with the Bhagavad Gītā, received great and permanent development under the ten Vaishnava saints (*ālvārs*), whose period is considered by Hooper (pp. 11-18) to be from about the middle of the seventh century A. D. to about the middle of the ninth century. Of these the greatest is Nammālvār (cf. C12, back 2), first half of the ninth century, founder of a line of teachers (*ācārya*). The greatest among these was Rāmānuja, who is agreed to have died in 1137 A. D., with a traditional birth date of 1017, obviously invented to give him an ideal age of 120 years. He was the great formulator of devotional religion centering around Vishnu in that god's various *avatāras* (incarnations), providing a faith more congenial to the ordinary man, and easier for him to follow, than the uncompromising intellectual monism (non-dualism) of the great Śaṅkarācārya, who lived during the period of the *ālvārs*. The *ālvārs* and the Vaishnava *ācāryas* are frequently represented in Vaishnava temples in anthropomorphic form as when living (Gravely and Ramachandran 9; Rao II. 2. 473 f.; Jou-Du Icon M 63 f.). Rāmānuja, also called Uḍaiyavar, is regularly shown seated with legs crossed, the hands joined before him in the *añjali* gesture, carrying a cloth attached to a staff, which Gravely and Ramachandran say is for straining water, while Jouveau-Dubreuil merely calls it a flag with the emblems of Vishnu. This staff rests upon the right arm, according to Jouveau-Dubreuil, but in the illustration given by Rao (II. 2, plate CXXXVI) it rests upon the left arm. In our carving it is supported by the right arm. (3) An *ālvār*, one of the first three, namely Poygai, Bhūtat, Pēy. Cf. C4, right 3; C5, book 3.

Left side. (1) Erotic scene, presumably of a *gandharva* and an *apsaras*, that is, a heavenly courtesan and a heavenly musician. Cf. scenes on some of the Sa pillars. (2) A dancing *apsaras* (heavenly courtesan and danseuse). (3) Krishna as Veṇugopāla, that is, as youthful cowherd playing the flute (see above under C7, right 3). Here he wears a royal headdress (so, too, in the four-armed example of C12, right 3), and not the knot of hair shown in C7, right 3.

Back. (1, 2, 3) Conventionalized foliage and floral decorations.

C9. Figs. 18, 19. Probably Arjuna, one of the five Pāñdavas. Cf. under C6 and C8. The figure here is male, fully ornamented, wears royal headdress, and has lions overhead. It is hardly likely to be a mere worshipper, because the hands are not in the reverential *añjali* gesture (see above under C2; cf. Gravely and Ramachandran 16, and illustrations and text of Aravamuthan *passim*). At the left, by the feet, is a small round bit of carving, which might be the broken end of a bow. Of the figures of the Pāñdavas at the Mīnākṣī temple, that of Arjuna comes nearest to this: Yudhiṣṭhīra is a bearded Bowman; Bhīma carries a club (cf. C6); Nakula and Sahadeva hold both bow and sword; Arjuna, however, relies upon his bow Gāndīva (Fig. 54). He is described in the Mahābhārata as an incomparable archer; by his skill he won as the common wife of all five Pāñdavas the princess Draupadī at her Svayamvara (ceremony of Self-Choice, a privilege allowed in the epic to daughters of the ruling caste). His charioteer was Krishna, and it was to Arjuna that Krishna recited the Bhagavad Gītā, poem of devotion to god, just before the climactic battle between the Pāñdavas and their cousins the Kauravas. Arjuna's heart failed him at the prospect of slaying his kin and teachers. Krishna first assured him that there is only one real being, and that neither slaying nor being slain is possible. Then he spoke of his own true nature as God, and preached that the best road to realization of Him is not by sacrifices and works nor by intellectual apprehension, but through loving devotion. Arjuna is the perfect warrior, of superhuman strength,

yet beautiful and graceful, capable of tenderheartedness, and the one Pāñdava of all for whom Draupadī had an excess of affection.¹¹ He was the general in chief of the Pāñdava hosts in the battle, and in some respects may be considered the leading figure of the whole epic.

Right side. (1) Lion and foliage, with dwarf *yakṣa* (or perhaps a *gandharva*). (2) Child Krishna crawling (cf. Rao I. 1. 215; Gravely and Ramachandran 7). The child Krishna is represented as crawling to steal the butter and as dancing afterwards in joy (cf. above C1, left 2; C11, right 1). The knot of hair on top of the head and the pose determine the subject. (3) Garuḍa, the vehicle of the god Vishnu, in a form essentially like that of column C3, but with better defined wing feathers.

Left side. (1) Monkey (cf. C8, right 1); on the panel foliage ornamentation. (2) Conventionalized floral ornament. (3) Conventionalized foliage ornament.

Back. (1, 2, 3) Conventionalized foliage and floral decorations.

C10. Figs. 20, 21. Sugrīva, king of the monkeys and ally of Rāma in the epic Rāmāyaṇa. His story appears below in the description of the frieze (see in connection with F5). Sugrīva is also sculptured in the group before the shrine of Mīnākṣī. Here he has a body not distinguishable from that of a man, except for the tail and the head. He wears royal headdress, thus being distinguished from his general Hanumat (cf. C2, left; C7, left 2). Like Hanumat, he has a tuft on the end of his tail. The hands were evidently joined at the breast in the *añjali* gesture, and the place can be seen where they touched the body.

Right side. (1) Monkey (perhaps a *vānara*, one of Rāma's allies), and an intertwined pair of fish (cf. C7, left 1; sc). (2) Child Krishna stealing butter (*navaṇīta*). Here he is shown

¹¹ This was a fault in her, which kept her from reaching heaven on her own feet when the five brothers and she climbed the steep ascent to it. Only Yudhiṣṭhīra, son of Justice, made the climb, and with him a dog, despised animal, which he refused to drive away—it turned out later to be Dharma (Justice) in disguise. When he got there he found the others awaiting him; they had fallen by the wayside, but had been magically translated above.

holding a ball of butter in each upturned hand, while he dances in joy (cf. above under C1, left 2). The theme is frequent in sculpture (for example, see Gravely and Ramachandran 7, 83, 87 [No. 12]). (3) Standing male, too badly damaged to be identified.

Left side. (1) A devotee on a seat, right knee up, with right elbow on it, and the right hand supporting the chin; left hand on hip. Cf. C1, left 1; and C3, right 2. A monkey (perhaps a *vānara*) beside him, and possibly also a cobra. (2) Child Krishna crawling to steal butter; cf. under C1, left 2; this same column, right 2; and C9, right 2. (3) Foliage ornamentation.

Back. (1) Floral design. (2) A bearded male, wearing a conical cap and dancing. In his right hand is a sword or a flower or a *vīṇā*, in his left a flower. Perhaps a male devotee. (3) Lion and foliage design.

C11. Figs. 22, 23. Tumburu, a *kimnara*, that is, a heavenly creature belonging to the general class of *gandharva*, specifically having the head of a horse and the body of a human being and especially devoted to music (Hopkins 158; Jou-Du Icon M 63, 110 [French original edition, pp. 67, 120]; Wilkins 401). A pair of *kimnaras* regularly accompany Vishnu (Rao I. 1. 82, 88, 95). In South India today the great *gandharva* musician Tumburu (or, Tamburu) is considered to be a *kimnara*—for him see Hopkins 155—as is stated in Jou-Du Icon M 63, and modern Vaishnavas in Madras have identified for me as a *kimnara* Nārada, who appears in the epic as both *r̥si* and *gandharva*, and is the inventor of the *vīṇā* (see under C5) and is even sometimes considered to be an incarnation of Vishnu (Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 3. 1 ff., referred to by Rao I. 1. 123). But I can find no authority for giving Nārada a horse's head. The *kimnara* of this sculpture might be identified as Tumburu since it carried a *vīṇā*. Although this image is badly damaged, it is possible to see the bowl of the lute (*vīṇā*) at the right shoulder (for the *vīṇā* see under C1). The *kimnara* is heavily ornamented and wears a conical headdress (*kirīṭamakuta*).

Right side. (1) At the top is a child (*bāla*) Krishna dancing

(cf. under C1, left 2); here the infant has both hands in the pose called *kaṭaka*, meant for holding some object (cf. Rao I. 1. 207, and plate LX, Fig. 2). Krishna's hair is bound in a knot, he wears earrings, and he is balanced on the left foot with the right poised above the ground, as is common in these dancing images (see Gravely and Ramachandran 85). (2) A pregnant woman seated, with right elbow resting on her right knee and her head resting in her right hand. She wears her hair in a knot hanging on the side. I have not been able to identify this figure. (3) The bottom panel contains only a conventionalized foliage ornament.

Left side. (1) In the upper panel are a lion and a hybrid creature with a human head and a bird's body. This corresponds to the definition of a *kimpuruṣa* (Jou-Du Icon M 110) or a *bhāruṇḍa* (Hopkins 20), each considered to be a heavenly singer. The female counterpart appears in C6, right 1. (2) Two dancing males with widespread locks of hair, the outside arms upraised, the inside arms around each other's shoulders. Hair spread out fanwise appears on a number of dancers, male and female, in these sculptures, and may be taken to be a characteristic of *apsarases* (heavenly female dancers and courtesans) and *gandharvas* (heavenly male dancers and musicians, and companions of the *apsarases*). The *apsarases* in the epic wear their hair in five braids (Hopkins 161) and in Gupta times sculpture shows the *gandharvas* with their hair in long curls falling to the shoulder. In the dance the loose hair would fly out as our sculpture show. (3) A bearded and moustached ascetic with hands before him in the *añjali* gesture. Since the *r̥sis* (sages) Mārkanḍeya and Bhṛgu appear among the regular attendants of Vishnu (Rao I. 1. 82, 89, 91), it may be supposed that this relief is of one of them, perhaps Mārkanḍeya, who appears in a similar attitude in Rao I. 1, plate XXXIII, discussed on his p. 113. Mārkanḍeya has a Purāṇa (book of myth and sacred lore) named after him and in the Mahābhārata identifies the sleeping Vishnu Nārāyaṇa with Krishna.

Back. (1) Aiyanār, son of the god Shiva and Vishnu when

incarnate as the *apsaras* (heavenly danseuse) Mohinī. Aiyanār has spreading hair, holds a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left, and wears long drooping moustaches. (2) Same as the preceding. (3) Female in dancing pose, with *karandamakuta* headdress. Perhaps an *apsaras*.

C12. Figs. 24, 25. Probably Bali, king of the Daityas (demons, *asuras*), who was tricked by Vishnu incarnate as a dwarf (*vāmana*). He wears royal headdress (*karandamakuta*), carries a scepter under his right arm, and has a lion overhead—all enough to indicate his kingship. The tusks show him to be an *asura* (cf. Rao II. 2. 60, Jou-Du Icon M 111), and the moustache is consistent with demoniac character, although appearing also on other kinds of creatures. The joined hands held an object, now broken off, which, if the identification proposed is correct, may have been the vessel of water which Bali poured out to confirm his promise to the dwarf. The story is that this Daitya king, through merit accumulated by penance, had got possession of the entire three worlds, and the gods wished to get back heaven. Resourceless, they finally appealed to Vishnu, who agreed to help. At a time when Bali was conducting a sacrifice and would therefore be in a mood to make gifts to Brahmans, Vishnu appeared before him as a dwarf Brahman, and asked as a boon for whatever he could cover in three steps. Bali, amused, agreed, and confirmed his promise by pouring out water. Vishnu then assumed a gigantic form, and with one step encompassed earth, with another sky, but when Bali, joyfully acknowledging Vishnu as lord submitted his head to his foot, the god pressed him down to the nether world to let him be its lord. The striding form of Vishnu, known as Trivikrama, is a later myth based on the old Rig Vedic idea of the three strides with which Vishnu (the sun) covers the lower world, the earth, and the sky, so reaching the highest point of heaven. Bali is regarded as a generous and admirable character—he was, after all, the grandson of Prahlāda, famous in the case of another of Vishnu's *avatāras* for his devotion to

that deity—and it is considered fitting that he should be honored by the god and rewarded.

Right side. (1) Child Krishna dancing (cf. above under C1, left 2). Below him is a circular object with lines like those of the serpent in the representations of the child Krishna dancing as he strangles the serpent Kāliya, but the serpent's head is not clearly visible here, and is moreover generally at Krishna's right foot, instead of the left as it would be if that were the subject here (cf. Rao I. 1. 212; Gravely and Ramachandran 88; Jou-Du Icon M 91). (2) Child Krishna dancing, with the ends of his scarf in his two hands. (3) Krishna as Venugopāla, four-armed, the back right arm holding his discus, the back left arm holding the conch (cf. Gravely and Ramachandran 88-89, Nos. 1, 2; Rao I. 1. 209). Other illustrations of the same subject, but with only two arms, appear in C7, right 3; C8, left 3.

Left side. (1) Probably Krishna, being dressed like him in the other scenes of this column and wearing the same sort of headdress, but it might be meant for a dwarf *yakṣa*. The hands are damaged, and any help they might have given toward the identification is lost. There is almost no limit to the number of ways in which Krishna may be shown (cf. remark to this effect by Rao I. 1. 215). (2) Child Krishna stealing curd from a jar. (3). Child Krishna stealing curd from a jar, but in a different posture from that of the scene above.

Back. (1) Dancing male figure, probably child Krishna. (2) A devotee, probably lay (cf. C5, left 1), with his right hand up, his left hand resting in his lap. He is perhaps the *ālvār* Nam-mālvār described (Gravely and Ramachandran 9) as "without sacred thread, seated on a lotus throne, with the right hand in either the *jñāna* [meditative] or *upadeśa* [instructional] pose and with a palm-leaf manuscript (usually missing) on the up-turned palm of the left hand." The hair is in a knot. He is the greatest of the *ālvārs* and has left many writings. The story is that from the time of his birth in a Śūdra family he remained for sixteen years under a tamarind tree, opening neither his mouth nor his eyes. A certain Mathurakavi, on a pilgrimage to

the north, saw a light in the south, which he followed. It led him to Nammālvār. By asking a conundrum he aroused the boy from his trance and started him to preaching.¹² (3) An *apsaras*.

The description of the simple columns now follows.

Sa. Fig. 27. Five in number. This type of column is characterized by having the *nāgabandha* (snake bond) just above the first square element (*caturam*), and around the octagonal parts of the shaft (*kāl*) are bands called *kaṭṭu*. The panel ornamentation of all these columns consists of flower and leaf designs, except as noted below. The two pillars immediately inside the entrance of the *maṇḍapam* have on one of the bottom panels a male. On the left hand column the figure is tall and well proportioned, the headdress conical. That on the right hand column is squat and the hair is flying. In his hand he holds an object which I cannot identify. Both hold their hands in *añjali*. These may be considered *gandharvas* (heavenly musicians and dancers). On the middle panel of the face of the left hand column is a *yāli*. The first column of the left hand row has in an upper panel an erotic scene (cf. C8, left 1), and in one of the lower panels is a dancing *apsaras*. Pillar 3 of the same row also has panels with dancing and erotic scenes. Pillar 2 of the outside right hand row has a standing Vishnu.

Sb. Fig. 28. One column, at the near end of the left hand row of C columns. This column, as also Sc, is more complicated than the columns of style Sa. It has the shaft cut into sixteen sides, with wider octagonal bands than on an Sa column. On one side of this column stands a female figure, occupying the space from the bottom of the first panel to the middle of the second. She wears spiral earrings (*patrakundalas*) and in her right hand carries a flywhisk (*cāmara*), as though an attendant upon some deity. On the lowest panel, opposite to her, was a male figure, which is now badly damaged, but it is possible to see that its arms were upraised. At the top of this column, in the panel on

¹² Hooper 12, illustrations facing p. 58.

the flywhisk-bearer's left, sits a four-armed goddess with a lotus in each of her upper hands, but with the two lower hands broken off. She wears a breast band, a *karaṇḍamakuṭa* (headdress shaped like a pyramid of inverted pots), and spiral earrings. This was probably a four-armed variety of Lakṣmī, Vishnu's chief consort, who emerged from the ocean, along with many other remarkable things, when the gods and the demons churned it to get the drink of immortality (*amṛta*). In another of the upper panels is a *yāli*. Two panels are unfinished.

Sc. Fig. 29. One column, at the near end of the right-hand row of C columns. This column hardly differs from Sb, except for the human figures carved on it. These are two, shown on two sides of the lowest square part of the column, who are Rāma and at his left his half-brother Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma is the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, and his story will be told below in the description of the frieze. Each of these two heroes carries a bow, which is an indication of identity, and each has also a quiver behind the right shoulder. Each wears a royal headdress (*karaṇḍamakuṭa*). Rāma's right hand rests upon a club or a sword, and his left hand is raised above the level of his head; Lakṣmaṇa has his two hands joined before him in the *añjali* gesture, honoring Rāma. On one of the upper panels is the intertwined fish motif (cf. C7, left 1; C10 right 1).

Sd. Fig. 27. Nine columns, placed four in the left-hand outer row and five in the right-hand outer row. These are without the *nāgabandha* (snake bond), and five of them are without the bands around the octagonal parts of the shafts. The panel decorations are all conventionalized foliage or flower motifs, except for one at the top of the last column in the outer right-hand row, which is the Vaishnava sectarian mark (*nāmam*) of the variety *tengalai*, that is, shaped like the letter U, with the base prolonged.¹³

¹³ Cf. Jou-Du Icon M 58 (Jou-Du Icon 62), and Figure 16.

VI

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIEZE

THE Museum owns eight frieze slabs (Figs. 30-37), which are set between the columns C9 to Sc and Sb to C6. It was pointed out in Chapter III of this work (p. 29) that such friezes often appear in pillared halls of South Indian temples, and they are installed here in the position which they might have occupied in their original setting. Above them were pieces with the *kūḍu* motif as an ornament. Other frieze slabs and a number of *kūḍu* slabs are still lying in the front of the Āṇḍāl shrine of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple (Figs. 46, 47), Madura, where they were presumably brought from the ruined, and now replaced, Lakṣmī temple of the Perumāl temple (see above, p. 30).

This frieze depicted the story of the epic Rāmāyaṇa, as is quickly evident from the frequent presence of Rāma and Lakṣmī, iconographically recognizable from the bows they carry, and Sītā, wife of Rāma, who accompanies them. It may be assumed that the original frieze fully told the main story of the Rāmāyaṇa from beginning to end (cf. Fig. 54). Our pieces are, of course, scattered, and by no means so easy to identify as if they were still accompanied by the rest of the series and were set in the original sequence; but study seems to give the significance of the scenes here set up. In the following pages I shall summarize the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, with special emphasis upon the context of our scenes, and describe the pieces of our frieze as their subject matter comes into the story. One of the pieces lying in the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple compound was lying where I could photograph it, although it was upside down, and I include it here in the description, giving it the designation Fm (Fig. 47). The order in which the pieces are installed is not chronological according to the story; but they will be described here chronologically, in the following order:

- F7 The Doom of Rāvaṇa (Fig. 30)
- F2 The Birth of Rāma and his Brothers (Fig. 31)
- F8 The Slaying of Tāṭakā (Fig. 32)
- F3 The Exile of Rāma (Fig. 33)
- F6 Bharata becomes Rāma's Regent (Fig. 34)
- [Fm Rāma pursues and kills Mārīca as a Deer (Fig. 47)]
- F1 Rāma's Arrow pierces the Palm Trees (Fig. 35)
- F5 The Slaying of Vālin and Crowning of Sugrīva (Fig. 36)
- F4 The Rejection of Sītā (Fig. 37)

Each slab is in three sections separated by pilasters; usually each panel between the columns shows a separate moment in the larger episode, but several times two are to be taken together. They read from left to right, and are lettered *a*, *b*, *c* in that order in the description.

The theme of the Rāmāyaṇa is Rāma's war with Rāvaṇa, king of the Rākṣasas, whose capital was in Laṅkā (Ceylon). Much has been written in comment upon the Rāmāyaṇa, and this is obviously no place to pass quick opinions upon complex questions that arise from a study of that great work.¹ In the original legend Rāma seems to have been a human hero, whom later tradition converted into an incarnation of the god Vishnu. It is often thought that he represents the leadership of Aryan civilization advancing into non-Aryan India, whose inhabitants, being less than Aryans, are pictured, when enemies, as demons (*rākṣasas*) and, when friendly, as more or less anthropoid animals, that is, as monkeys (*vānaras*) and bears. Be all this as it may, the Rāmāyaṇa is devoutly honored by Hindus, especially members of Vaishnava sects, in all parts of India, and for many occupies a position of honor in religion unequaled by any other work. Rāma and Hanumat, the general of the monkey allies, are figured in shrines all over northern India. Every

¹ The interested reader may most easily consult M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*. Translated from the original German edition and revised by the author. Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1926, 1932. For the Rāmāyaṇa, see Vol. I. 475-517.

year at the time of the Dasahra festival a bonfire is made of great bamboo and paper images of Rāvaṇa, who had ten heads—nine human and one that of a donkey, which in India is both the lustful animal and the stupid—a celebration that is joyous and noisy. The Rāmāyaṇa exists primarily in a Sanskrit text of two major recensions, an accumulation of centuries, ascribed to Vālmīki as author. There is also a north Indian version in Hindi by Tulsī Dās, popular there, but of little importance in the south, and it need not be considered in our study of the sculptures from Madura. But the sanctity of Rāma is unquestioned in both south and north, and the legend has an especial reality at Madura, which is not far from Rāmeśvaram, the nearest point of the Indian mainland to Ceylon. It was at Rāmeśvaram that the troops of Rāma had to cross, and they did so on the mountains which Hanumat and his followers brought from the Himalayas to bridge the strait between the mainland and the island.

The demon Rāvaṇa, the villain of the epic, had once received from the god Brahmā the promise that he should not be killed by god or demon, and in his overweening insolence he was oppressing the world, above all interfering with the sages' holy sacrificial rites, necessary to both men and gods. At about this time King Daśaratha, of Ayodhyā (in modern Oudh, in northern India) had been performing a horse sacrifice that he might continue his line;² for, although he had three wives, none had borne him a son. This ceremony was being conducted by the great sage (*rṣi*) Ṛṣyaśṛṅga³ in addition to the king's regular

² This greatest of all Vedic sacrifices could be performed only by a king who had sent a consecrated horse to wander for a year at pleasure, followed by an army. Whatever country the horse entered, the army must secure the peaceful submission of its ruler or conquer him. For a description of the rite see best P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927.

³ The transcription Rishyashringa will help English readers in pronouncing this name. He was the son of an ascetic, who once glimpsed a heavenly nymph (*apsaras*) and at the sight lost semen in a stream. A doe drank this, and in due time gave birth to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, who was raised in his father's forest hermitage, so far removed from the world and other human beings that he did not even know that there were such creatures as women. His perfect innocence and celibacy made him especially desirable to perform an important rain-making ceremony, and the king of the country sent the city's most beautiful courtesans to entice him to the city. They came to him when his

priest Vasiṣṭha. At the conclusion of the sacrifice Ṛṣyaśrīga promised the king four sons, and started a special supplementary sacrifice to obtain them. The gods had come to get their share of the offerings, and pleased with the sacrifice, they promised that the sons would be granted. Then they went to Brahmā to ask for some way of remedying the evil which he had caused through his criminal generosity to Rāvaṇa. Brahmā, realizing that Rāvaṇa had left himself vulnerable in not demanding that he should be immune to man as well as to god and demon, advised that Vishnu be asked to incarnate himself for the purpose of slaying the wicked oppressor, and the gods then made the request, to which Vishnu consented.

F7. Fig. 30. The Doom of Rāvaṇa. (a). At the extreme left stands a *r̄ṣi* (sage), wearing matted hair with his hands in *añjali*, in the center is a person in lay dress; at the right stands another sage with a staff that looks like a club and a water vessel. These may be taken to be King Daśaratha, with the sages Ṛṣyaśrīga and Vasiṣṭha. Since the text says that Ṛṣyaśrīga made the prayer to the gods for the four sons, it may be assumed that he is the ascetic with folded hands. (b). Vishnu Nārāyaṇa is lying upon the endless serpent, a familiar iconographic motif (cf. Rao I. 1. 92, 109 ff., and note Plates XXXI and XXXIV), here two-armed, with his wives Lakṣmī and Bhūdevī at his feet. (c). The gods ask Vishnu to become incarnate. Brahmā appears with four heads and four hands, his two lower hands *añjali* and his two upper hands holding objects which are probably a rosary and a handful of sacred grass or a water vessel (cf. Rao II. 2. 504 ff.; Gravely and Ramachandran 5; Jou-Du Icon M 103). Indra also holds his lower hands *añjali*, and in his upper right hand has his weapon, the *vajra*, looking like lozenges placed upon each other, and

father was absent, and in the manner of Venus with Adonis succeeded in seducing him. From his mother's side he inherited a horn on his head. [Dr. Coomaraswamy re-marks that this is a version of the well-known myth of the unicorn subdued by a virgin.]

in his upper left his elephant goad. A third figure is in the scene, two-armed, standing *añjali*, which may be taken to be some other deity not identified. [Rām. I. 9-14; Griffith 16-26; Jacobi 141-2]⁴

To make good his promise Vishnu caused a heavenly being to appear in the sacrificial flame bearing a vessel of nectar (*amṛta*), which he gave to the king. The king then distributed this among his three wives. To Kauśalyā, the chief queen, he gave a half; to Sumitrā, the second queen, he gave three-eighths; and to Kaikeyī, the third queen, he gave one-eighth (there is a variant apportionment in another chapter of the text). Kauśalyā gave birth to Rāma, Sumitrā to Lakṣmaṇa and Satrughna, and Kaikeyī to Bharata. Of the four brothers Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa became inseparable companions, and Bharata and Satrughna formed another close pair. All the four sons were incarnations of Vishnu. At the request of Vishnu the gods mated with various kinds of non-human females, such as *apsarases*, *kimnarīs*, and others, to produce in swarms the *vānaras* (monkeys) and other animals that were to be allies of Rāma in the great war with Rāvaṇa that was to come.

F2. Fig. 31. The Birth of Rāma and his Brothers. (a). King Daśaratha, wearing the head of the sacrificial horse in a strange use of that object,⁵ is seated with his right arm outstretched to receive the vessel of *amṛta* (nectar) from the heavenly messenger, who appears in the flame of the sacrificial fire. (b). King Daśaratha, now with human head, since he has left the horse sacrifice, and royal head-dress, sits on his throne and distributes the nectar to his three wives, who stand before him. (c). The three wives

⁴ The references within the square brackets are to the portion of the text illustrated in the sculpture, and to the translation of the text by Griffith and the analysis by Jacobi (see in Bibliographical Abbreviations).

⁵ Perhaps a similar custom is that of placing a horse's head on the altar in the horse sacrifice to work ill to one's foes, this being an offering to Agni (Mahābhārata 7.143.71; see Hopkins 103).

seated and holding the four sons. [Rām. I. 15(16), 18(19); Griffith 26, 32; Jacobi 142]

When Rāma was not yet sixteen years old, the seer (*r̄si*) Viśvāmitra came to King Daśaratha's court to ask for Rāma's aid against the two demons Subāhu and Mārīca, who were always disturbing his sacrifices. The king was reluctant to send so young a boy, and Viśvāmitra became angry. But the king's private priest Vasiṣṭha, who long ago had had an unfortunate dispute with Viśvāmitra and felt his power, knew that the visitor was no one to trifle with and urged the king to accede: the demons, he said, would not be able to kill Rāma, and besides Viśvāmitra had a great many superhuman weapons which he would give him. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa set out with Viśvāmitra. On the way the seer gave Rāma two spells, and at evening brought them to a forest hermitage, situated at the spot where long before Kāma, the god of love, had shot an arrow at the god Shiva while the latter was engaged in meditation, and in return had been burnt up by a glance from the angry god's third eye.⁶ There hermits greeted them with water to wash their feet, and made them comfortable for the night. The next morning Viśvāmitra and the two princes crossed the river Ganges and entered a forest which was under the scourge of a demoness named Tāṭakā. After relating the story of her origin and describing her wicked, man-eating habits, Viśvāmitra urged Rāma to kill her. Rāma twanged his bow, setting the forest atremble, and woke up Tāṭakā, who advanced against him. At first Rāma had no intention of killing her, having the warrior's traditional chivalry toward the feminine sex, and meant only to render her helpless. But her magic made her so elusive and impossible to treat with such halfway measures that, at Viśvāmitra's renewed urging, he finally slew her.

F8. Fig. 32. The Slaying of Tāṭakā. (a). Viśvāmitra and Daśaratha engaged in conversation. (b). The hermits at

⁶ Being immortal he continued to live, although his body was gone, and he is therefore known as Anāṅga, "the Bodiless."

the Hermitage of Love coming to greet Viśvāmitra, Rāma, and Lakṣmaṇa. The hermit at the right, who leads the three, has an object in his right hand, which may be a leaf to bear an offering of fruit (or might conceivably be a book, as far as the appearance goes); his left arm hangs down. The middle hermit holds a water vessel in his left hand, and probably a lotus in his right. The third has nothing in his hands. The three wear their hair in an ascetic's knot, but are without the beard that Viśvāmitra and other ascetics wear, and we should probably consider them to be youthful neophytes or perhaps merely Brahman boys living in celibate studentship under a competent teacher, which is the first of the four stages of life prescribed for a Brahman. (c). Rāma shooting at Tāṭakā, while she attacks him—the text says with stones, but the objects in her hands scarcely have such an appearance. That in the left looks like a shield and that in the right is broken, but seems to have been a sword. [Rām. I. 18(20)-26(28); Griffith 32-41; Jacobi 142-3.]

After the slaying of Tāṭakā, Viśvāmitra presented Rāma with celestial arms—Indra's thunderbolt (*vajra*), Shiva's trident (*triśūla*), Agni's firebrand (*sikhara*), and many others. Then they went on to Viśvāmitra's hermitage. There the sage started his sacrifice, and when it was nearing completion the two demons Subāhu and Mārīca appeared to destroy it. Rāma killed Subāhu, and drove away Mārīca, who later enters into the story to entice Rāma from Sītā's presence, while Rāvaṇa abducts her (related below under Fm).

Viśvāmitra now tells Rāma of a wondrous bow belonging to king Janaka of Mithilā, once used by the god Śiva, which no prince has yet succeeded in bending, and he persuades Rāma to go to the king's court to see if he can master it. On the way he relates many long legends. When they arrive at Janaka's court, the king tells them the story of the bow, and also adds that he has a daughter named Sītā ("Furrow"), whom he had once

found under his plow when plowing,⁷ and because of her unusual birth he has decided to give her in marriage only to him who can bend the bow. The bow is brought in an eight-wheeled chest. Rāma lightly lifts it, and draws the string so far that the bow snaps, with such a mighty noise that the people fall senseless to the ground. Rāma then marries Sītā, and his three brothers, who have come to Janaka's court, marry her sisters. Sītā is the ideal wife.

Not long after Rāma and the others have returned home, King Daśaratha, their father, old and anxious to give up the cares of rulership, nominates Rāma as heir apparent. Everyone in city and palace is pleased but Kaikeyī, the mother of prince Bharata, and she plots to get the throne for her son. While the preparations for the consecration are being made, she goes to sulk in the palace anger-chamber. Daśaratha comes to ask why she does so; whereupon she wrings from him the promise to grant now two boons she has held in store since long ago when she saved his life. These are, first, to make her son Bharata the heir-apparent in place of Rāma, and, second, to exile Rāma to the forest for fourteen years, where he must dwell as a hermit. King Daśaratha must keep his word, and even Rāma agrees. But when it comes time to leave, Sītā refuses to stay behind, and Lakṣmaṇa too insists upon accompanying him. Kaikeyī provides the bark garments for them to wear as ascetics, and they leave for the forest, escorted by the citizens. At the river Tamasā they enter upon their exile, and the citizens return home. Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa cross the river, and after a period of unsettled residence they meet the sage Bharadvāja, who directs them to Citrakūṭa. There they settle down.

In due time King Daśaratha, grief-stricken, dies, and Bharata should become king; but he, feeling that he has no right to the throne, abjures it, and sets out to find Rāma in the forest,

⁷ An apocryphal account of her origin is related in the last, a later, book, of the Rāmāyaṇa, in which it appears that she had a prenatal enmity for Rāvaṇa, who had made improper advances to her in the preceding birth. She had died at that time by entering the flame, calling for rebirth not from a womb, that she might be the occasion of his destruction. She is considered to be an incarnation of Lakṣmī, Vishnu's chief wife.

accompanied by the three queen-mothers and a long train. On the way they meet King Guha of the Niṣadhas, who at first is indignant with Bharata, but on learning his purpose is appeased and provides the boats for Bharata and the others to cross the Ganges.

F3. Fig. 33. The Exile of Rāma. (*a, b*). It seems that two scenes should here be taken together. In (*b*) Rāma, his quiver over his shoulder, is talking to Bharadvāja, whose club-like staff and water vessel show that the figure is an ascetic's. In (*a*) are Sītā, holding a lotus, and Lakṣmaṇa with bow. Bharadvāja is directing Rāma to Citrakūṭa. (*c*). The crossing of the Ganges by Bharata, in the front of the boat, with Śatrughna behind him, and behind Śatrughna a woman, who may be taken to be one of the three queens, probably Kauśalyā, the mother of Rāma. At the back is the boatman, his hands in the *añjali* gesture. [Rām. II. 54(55), 89; Griffith 158-9, 196; Jacobi 157, 159]

After crossing the Ganges Bharata and the others come to Bharadvāja's hermitage, where they are entertained hospitably for the night. The seer asks Bharata the story of the three queens. Bharata tells it, and when he speaks of Kaikeyī, his own mother but the cause of Rāma's banishment, he bursts into anger. But Bharadvāja tells him to calm himself, because great good is to result from Rāma's dwelling in the forest. Bharata goes on to meet Rāma, and when the preliminaries are finished and Daśaratha's death has been told, he announces that he will not accept the kingship, but will act only as Rāma's regent. He then offers a pair of sandals, which he wishes Rāma to touch with his feet and return to him. These are to be the recipients of royalty during Rāma's absence, and are to rest upon the throne. Bharata receives the sandals from Rāma on his outstretched hands, and then prostrates himself. Carrying the sandals he returns to Ayodhyā.

F6. Fig. 34. Bharata becomes Rāma's Regent. (*a*). The seer Bharadvāja, recognizable as a religious by his beard and

heavy coil of matted hair, is speaking to a man with royal headdress and a woman, both standing *añjali*. These two may be taken to be Bharata and his mother Kaikeyī, against whom Bharadvāja advises Bharata not to hold anger. (b). Rāma is seated and wears his hair in an ascetic's coil. Before him Bharata is represented twice; first, with outstretched hands receiving the sandals, which are clearly visible on the hands; second, prostrate before Rāma. The device of "continuous narration," in which two or more moments of the same episode are represented in a single composition, is common in Indian art from the time of the sculptures at Bhārhut (2nd century B. C.), and frequently, as here, cause the same person to be shown more than once in a single scene. (c). Bharata and Satrughna, accompanied by a woman representing the three queens, return to Ayodhyā. [Rām. II. 90-114; Griffith 197-224; Jacobi 160-1]

Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sītā continue to dwell in the forest of Dandaka, wandering from place to place, meeting hermits, and having adventures, until they reach lake Pañcāpsaras ("Lake of the Five Apsarases"), where sweet music greets them. Here the ascetic Māṇḍakarnī once practised such long and fearful penance that the gods feared he would usurp their power, and they sent five *apsarases* (heavenly courtesans and dancers) to seduce him. These were successful, and he and they now dwell beneath the lake in sensual delight, with the music that the wanderers hear. Rāma and the others dwell by this lake for ten years. Then they go to meet the great sage Agastya, who is accounted the missionary of Aryan religion to South India. He presents Rāma with a bow that once belonged to Vishnū, an inexhaustible quiver, a javelin that had been Shiva's, and a sword. The three wander on, meeting on the way a gigantic vulture named Jaṭāyus, of mythic descent, who tells them that he is a friend of Daśaratha and will be glad to render them aid at any time of need. They continue to Pañcavatī, beside the river Godāvarī, where they build a hut, and live in happiness.

At this point occurs the first of the incidents leading up to the grand catastrophe of the Rāmāyaṇa. A demoness (*rākṣasī*) named Sūrpaṇakhā ("She with Nails like Winnowing-baskets") happens by, sees Rāma, desires him, and offers herself. But he repulses her and advises her to try Lakṣmaṇa, who in his turn rejects her. She considers Sītā the obstacle to her desires and tries to kill her. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa prevent her, and Lakṣmaṇa cuts off her nose and ears. This demoness is a sister of Rāvaṇa and Khara, and she goes complaining to Khara. The latter sends out fourteen *rākṣasas* to avenge her, but Rāma easily kills them. Khara then goes with an army of 14,000 *rākṣasas*, and after a long battle with many incidents, including the shooting in two of Rāma's bow by Khara so that Rāma has to use Vishnu's bow, Rāma finally defeats them all. One *rāksasa* named Akampaṇa escapes to Laṅkā and reports the whole affair to Rāvaṇa. Enraged, Rāvaṇa vows to slay Rāma, but Akampaṇa advises him not to attack the invincible hero, rather to steal the incomparable Sītā, whose loss Rāma in his grief will not long survive. Rāvaṇa agrees, and then compels the demon Mārīca to assist him, although Mārīca is unwilling. He recalls how Rāma slew his mother Tāṭakā (see above F3) and wounded him. The plan is that Mārīca is to take the form of a golden deer with silver spots, show himself to Rāma and Sītā, lure Rāma away in chase of him, whereupon Rāvaṇa will abduct the defenseless Sītā. Mārīca does his part; Rāma, leaving Lakṣmaṇa as Sītā's guard, pursues and shoots him; but as he dies Mārīca emits a great cry in a voice exactly like Rāma's, "Sītā! Lakṣmaṇa!" Rāma starts back home. At the same time Sītā compels Lakṣmaṇa to go to Rāma's aid. This is Rāvaṇa's chance; in the form of a wandering mendicant he comes to Sītā, and has her tell him her story. Then he announces himself as Rāvaṇa, and offers her himself and his kingdom. She repulses him, and he then takes his true form and violently puts her in his ass-drawn chariot that travels through the sky, and heads for Laṅkā, while she fills the air with her piteous laments.

Fm. Fig. 47. Rāma pursues and kills Mārīca as a Deer.⁸ (a). Two figures seated. The upper parts of their bodies are not visible in the photograph, but they are probably Rāma and Sītā, although other identifications might be possible. (b). A man with bow and hands in *anjali* stands at the left, and the deer, which is Mārīca in disguise, leaps beside him. The man may be Lakṣmaṇa, standing beside the seated Rāma and Sītā of the scene at the left. This explanation would bring all four persons into the sculpture. (c). Rāma shoots the deer, which appears at the lower right, small and prostrate in death. [Rām. III. 42-44; Griffith 277-81; Jacobi 165-6]

As Rāvaṇa is going through the air with Sītā in his chariot, the aged vulture Jatāyus sees him, attacks, and destroys the the chariot. Rāvaṇa lets Sītā loose, beats down the vulture, then leaps up in the air again with Sītā, and while Jatāyus prophesies for Rāvaṇa the fatal end of this affair, he flees to Laṅkā. He puts her in his palace and tries by both entreaty and threats to win her, but she refuses him, scornfully and confidently predicting that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa will come to her rescue. The gods Brahmā and Indra, delighted at the success of the plan for Rāvaṇa's destruction which they had inaugurated at the beginning of the story, now put Sītā's guards to sleep, and come to tell her that in the end all will be well.

Meanwhile Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are distraught at the loss of Sītā. As they wander about, they meet Jatāyus, who with his dying words tells them of his battle with Rāvaṇa. The brothers go south, and have a fight with a gigantic headless demon named Kabandha, really a heavenly being under a curse, and Rāma cuts off his arms, which act releases the curse. Before dying Kabandha advises Rāma to get the aid of Sugrīva, king of the monkeys (*vānaras*), whose origin was told at the beginning of the story. Sugrīva, son of Sūrya, the sun god, has been deposed by his brother Vālin, son of Indra. Rāma is to

⁸ This slab lies in the courtyard of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple.

replace Sugrīva on the throne, and then get Sugrīva's help to win Sītā. Kabandha tells him the way to the monkey's land by the river Pampā. Rāma goes there, and at the sight of the scenic beauties of Pampā his grief for Sītā breaks out again in lament.

When Sugrīva sees Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, he thinks that they are allies of Vālin, but his general Hanumat, son of the wind god Vāyu, assures him that they are friends, and goes to meet them. He learns of their loss and their wish to ally themselves to Sugrīva, and leads them to Sugrīva. Sugrīva agrees, and says that he saw Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā through the sky. He relates his suffering from Vālin, and doubts that Rāma can cope with so strong a foe, who slew the huge buffalo-demon (*asura*) Dundubhi and then hurled the corpse a league away. [Some of the blood spattered the hermitage of the sage Mātaṅga, who in consequence promptly uttered a curse, which is a presage of Vālin's destruction.] Rāma touches the corpse of Dundubhi with his foot, and sends it ten leagues off, but Sugrīva is still unconvinced of Rāma's ability. Rāma, he says, is fresh and untired and the corpse has withered, but Vālin did his feat when wearied from a long fight and while the corpse was of full size. A better test will be to see if Rāma with his bow can pierce one of the seven trees, which Vālin is accustomed to send a shaft through. These trees are in different chapters called *sāla* (sal tree) and *tāla* (palm tree). Rāma shoots an arrow that pierces all seven of the palm trees and the hill behind them, penetrates to the seventh hell, and then returns to the quiver.

F1. Fig. 36. Rāma's Arrow pierces the Palm Trees. (a). Two women are seated under trees. The larger, and therefore more important, wears a breast band and has her left hand at her head in a gesture of mourning. She is probably Sītā in Rāvaṇa's grove of *āśoka* trees, where she was kept prisoner. The other woman is trying to console her. (b). Rāma, with bow standing on the ground behind his left shoulder, holds out his left hand in a reassuring gesture to Sugrīva and Hanumat, recognizable by their monkey heads

and tails, who stand with hands reverently folded before them. (c). Rāma shoots at the seven palm trees, one of which is shown to represent them all. [Rām. III. 55-IV. 12; Griffith 294-339; Jacobi 166-169]

Sugrīva is now convinced that Rāma will conquer for him. He goes to Kiṣkindhā, Vālin's capital, and shouts a challenge. Vālin comes out and the two fight. They look so much alike that Rāma is afraid to shoot lest he hit the wrong one. Sugrīva is worsted, flees, and accuses Rāma of treachery. Rāma explains the matter, and has Sugrīva put on a flower garland. With restored confidence Sugrīva returns to Kiṣkindhā and renews the challenge. Vālin is eager to go out. His wife Tārā tries to dissuade him, telling him that it is a matter for suspicion that Sugrīva, having just been defeated, should return so quickly, and adding that her son Aṅgada has told her that the heroes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa have allied themselves to Sugrīva. Vālin states that nevertheless he will go to the fight; Rāma would not be so sinful as to kill him. She circumambulates him in duteous wifely fashion, and he goes out, while she retires to her chamber with her attendants to pray and await the outcome.

When the battle between Sugrīva and Vālin is renewed and Sugrīva is again getting the worse, Rāma fells Vālin with an arrow. Before dying Vālin reproaches Rāma bitterly for slaying someone with whom he has no quarrel, and utters a good many unpleasant home truths. Rāma defends himself on various grounds, including Vālin's rape of Sugrīva's wife. In the end Vālin admits himself wrong and dies, asking that his son Aṅgada be made Sugrīva's heir apparent. Rāma shortly afterwards has the *vānara* nobles crown Sugrīva as king.

F5. Fig. 36. The Slaying of Vālin and Crowning of Sugrīva. (a, b). At the left stands Lakṣmaṇa with his bow on his left arm, while his two hands are held before him in reverence. Beside him is Rāma shooting at Vālin. In the central panel (b) are Sugrīva and Vālin fighting. Vālin is shown

twice: once standing up dealing a heavy blow at Sugrīva, the other time felled to the ground by Rāma's arrow. (c). At the extreme right is Sugrīva seated on the throne, while someone pours water over his head in the traditional Hindu coronation rite. The text says the *vānaras* poured the water, but the sculpture shows a human being. On another throne at the left side of this panel sits Rāma, distinguishable by the ascetic's arrangement of his hair, without his bow, but with the end of the quiver showing above the right shoulder. Although the text says that Rāma was not present in the city at the coronation, because the terms of his exile required that he remain in the forest, the sculptor has not scrupled to show him. Perhaps the sculptor intends merely to show Rāma in the forest giving his blessing, and not actually present with Sugrīva and his nobles. [Rām. IV. 16-27 (26); Griffith 343-57; Jacobi 170]

It is the beginning of the rainy season, when war in India is traditionally suspended, but when the rains are over, Rāma is eager to set out. Sugrīva is slow to move, not yielding to any persuasion until Lakṣmaṇa speaks in strong terms. Then he assembles his host, and other animals come, including the bears led by Jāmbavat. Sugrīva sends them scouting in all directions to find where Rāvaṇa has taken Sītā. To Hanumat, his general, he gives special injunctions, putting him in charge of the army that is to investigate the south, and Rāma gives Hanumat a ring to show Sītā if he finds her. Remarkable adventures occur, but the search is fruitless until Hanumut, Aṅgada, and their army come to a place where Sampāti, brother of the dead Jaṭāyus, discovers them and is about to eat them. But they tell their story, including the death of Jaṭāyus, and Sampāti wishes to help. He has learned that Sītā is in Laṅkā, a hundred *yojanas* (leagues) across the sea.

This water seems a barrier not to be overcome, but Hanumat, son of the Wind, leaps across it and lands in Ceylon. There he sees the magnificent city of Laṅkā. At night he reduces himself

to the size of a cat, enters the city, conquers its guardian goddess, and searches for Sītā. He goes throughout the palace, and at last comes to the grove of *ásoka* trees where she is under guard. At that time Rāvaṇa comes again to ask Sītā to accept him as husband, and Hanumat witnesses her refusal, which is followed by threats from Rāvaṇa. After Rāvaṇa has left, Hanumat goes to Sītā, speaks to her, and, when she shrinks from such an unusual creature, announces himself as Rāma's messenger, and establishes his character with Rāma's ring. He wishes to take her back with him, but she declines, on the ground that the great height Hanumat must reach in his leap over the water may make her giddy so that she will fall into the sea, while she can not obviate that danger by clinging to him, for her wifely vows forbid her to grasp of her own free will the body of any male but her husband. She sends back a message to Rāma with a gem. Hanumat now says farewell to her. But his work in Laṅkā is not finished. He overthrows the grove of trees where Sītā is confined, destroys a temple, and when the *rākṣasas* attack him slays many until Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's son, binds him with a magic weapon and leads him to Rāvaṇa. The demon king wishes him killed, but Hanumat announces himself an envoy of Rāma, and says that he has done this destruction only to get audience with Rāvaṇā. Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother, supports him, yet says that he may be punished for the harm he has done. Rāvaṇa decrees as punishment that Hanumat's tail shall be bound with cotton cloth, soaked in oil, and set afire. Sītā hears of this and makes a Truth Act^o before Agni, god of fire, that, as she is a true wife, the fire shall not harm the monkey. As it burns, therefore, it does no injury to Hanumat, and he leaps from spot to spot in Laṅkā setting the whole city on fire except Vibhīṣana's house. Hanumat now leaps back to the Indian mainland and reports all to the monkeys, who in their jubilation rifle a huge

^o Any person who fulfills perfectly the duties of his station in life has a Truth Act, by which he can accomplish miracles. See article by E. W. Burlingame in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1917, pp. 435 ff., and remarks by W. Norman Brown in *The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1929), pp. 6-13.

bee grove. Then they go back to Rāma and Sugrīva, and Hanumat reports to Rāma and gives him Sītā's gem.

Rāma is discouraged at the difficulty of getting the army across the ocean, but Sugrīva advises building a bridge. Meanwhile Rāvaṇa takes counsel with his advisers, among whom Vibhīṣaṇa recommends that Rāvaṇa desist from his foolish course. Rāvaṇa is stubborn, and Vibhīṣaṇa deserts to Rāma. To cross the ocean Rāma first tries to coerce it with his fierce arrows, but the Ocean declares that it cannot let its waters subside. But on Ocean's advice the monkeys bring trees, stones, and mountains to build the bridge.

After a number of preliminaries the opposing armies engage. In time Indrajit launches his magic arrows and fells Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, but their cause is restored when Garuḍa, the heavenly eagle and vehicle of Vishnu, appears and revives them by touching them with his wings. The battle is renewed with many encounters chronicled, including the slaying of Kumbhakarṇa, wakened from six months of sleep which he endured under Brahma's curse. Again Indrajit strikes down Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. This time Hanumat quickly brings herbs from the Himalayas to restore them. The battle goes on, until at last Rāma and Rāvaṇa meet. All Rāma's efforts are unavailing; as fast as he shoots off one of Rāvaṇa's ten heads another grows in its place. But Mātali, the god Indra's charioteer, urges Rāma to use a heavenly arrow which he owns, and with this he pierces Rāvaṇa's heart, and the battle is over. Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother's who has deserted to Rāma, is crowned king of Laṅkā.

Rāma now sends Hanumat to tell the news to Sītā, and great is her joy. Rāma asks Vibhīṣaṇa to send Sītā to him. The new rākṣasa king has her placed in a palanquin, and sends her accompanied by guards. But when she approaches Rāma, that hero orders her to dismount from the palanquin and approach him on foot. Surprised at this conduct, yet enraptured to see her lord again, she does so. Then he tells her that he has fought this war and killed Rāvaṇa, not for love of her, but to avenge his insulted honor and restore broken laws. But for her he has

no further use: Rāvaṇa has thrown his arms about her; she is stained forever. Vainly she protests her fidelity, and at last asks Lakṣmaṇa to prepare a funeral pyre. Seeing Rāma relentless, Lakṣmaṇa prepares it. Then again Sītā makes a Truth Act by her chastity, to the effect that as she has always been a faithful wife, the fire shall not injure her body. She enters the circle of flame, and the crowd shrieks. The gods appear. Then the god Brahmā rolls back the fire, and Sītā emerges unscathed, led out by the god Agni, who restores her to Rāma. Rāma now declares that he insisted upon this test of Sītā, not because he had any doubt of her, but because appearances were against her, and he could not risk letting the folk think that he would live with an impure woman as his wife.

F4. Fig. 37. The Rejection of Sītā. (*a, b*). The left-hand and central panels of this slab show the procession of Sītā to Rāma. In the central slab, at the head of the procession, are two persons mounted upon an elephant, perhaps Vibhīṣaṇa and an attendant. The text does not mention elephants here, but any Indian would feel that they are appropriate. At the left is Sītā in a palanquin. (*c*). In the right-hand panel Rāma is seated on a throne. Standing beside him with folded hands is Lakṣmaṇa. Before him, prostrate on the ground is Sītā, stricken by Rāma's rejection. [Rām. VI. 114-116 (116-118); Griffith 495-6; Jacobi 187]

Indra now restores all the dead *vānaras* to life. Vibhīṣaṇa produces a magic chariot which Rāvaṇa long before took from Kuvera, the god of wealth, and invites Rāma to go back to Ayodhyā in it. But first Rāma sends Hanumat on ahead to see if Bharata is still willing for Rāma to be king. Then he follows with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. Bharata comes outside the city to meet them, and all enter in triumphal procession. Rāma is consecrated and his kingdom knows joys like those of the golden age.

There is a final (seventh) and later book of the Rāmāyaṇa in which Rāma, bothered by the gossip of the city, exiles Sītā.

She goes to the hermitage of Vālmīki, author of the Rāmāyaṇa, where she bears two sons, Kuśa and Lava. Once when Rāma is celebrating a horse sacrifice, the two boys, who are unknown to their father, appear and recite to Rāma his deeds (the Rāmāyaṇa) as related by Vālmīki. Rāma is pleased and asks who the boys are. When he hears that they are his sons, he invites Sītā to come back to court and affirm her purity before an audience. But this second test is too much for her nature to endure. She makes still another Truth Act by her chastity, this time adjuring her Mother Earth that, as she (Sītā) has always been true to Rāma, the Earth shall open and receive her. The earth is cleft and a throne appears; the goddess of the Earth seats Sītā on the throne; and the throne descends into the earth with a rain of celestial flowers. Thus Sītā, "Furrow," born of the Earth, returns to her mother. In due time, by various ways, the four brothers—Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Śatrughna, and Bharata—incarnations of parts of Vishnu, return to the godhead whence they sprang, the abode of the worlds, incomprehensible, inconceivable, imperishable.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 2

Column C1. THE SAGE VYĀGHRAPĀDA

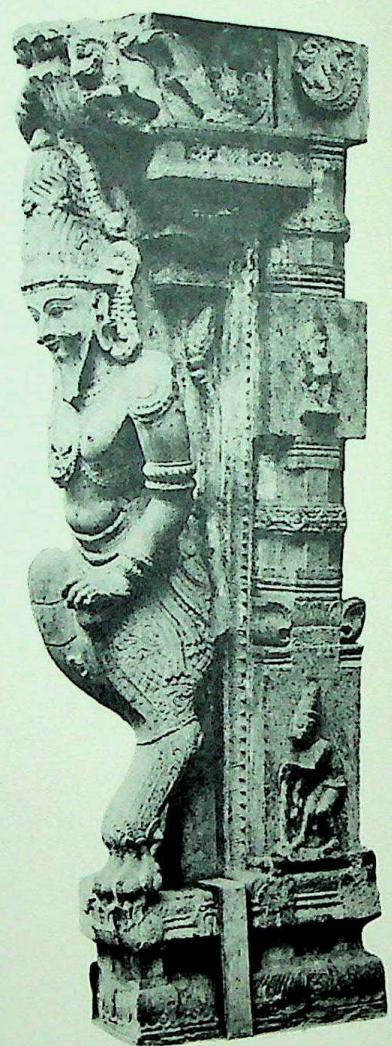


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Column C2. THE CORONATION OF RĀMA(?)

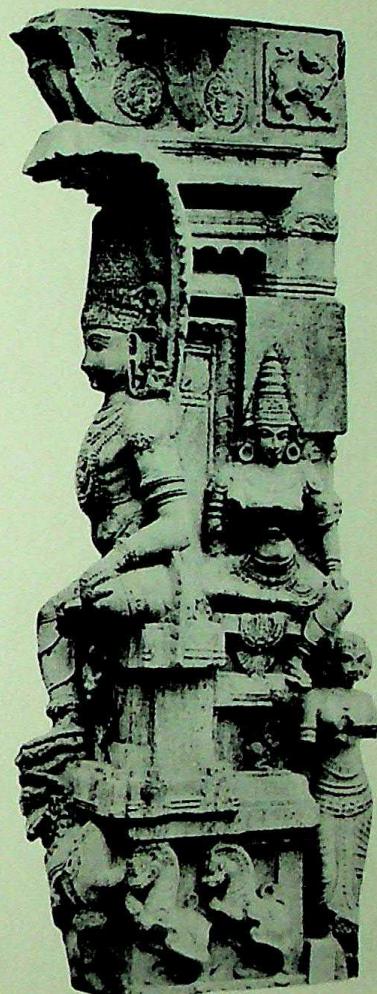


Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Column C3. GARUDA



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

Column C4. A WORSHIPPER

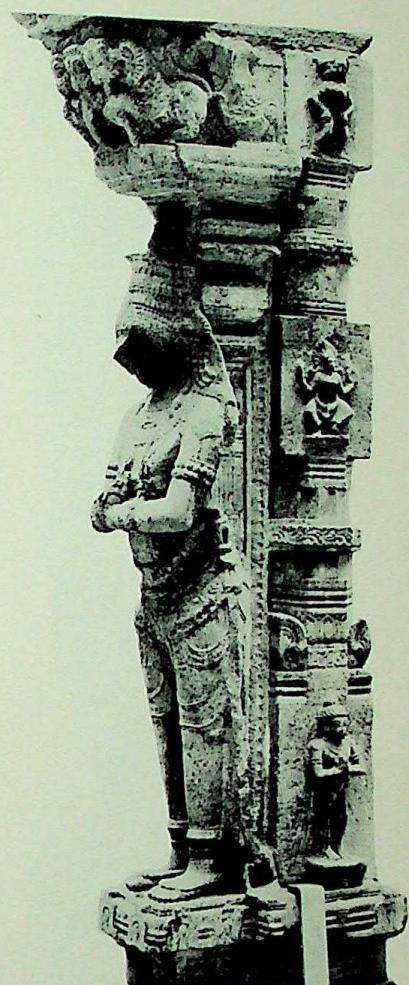


Fig. 9



Fig. 10

Column C5. THE SEER NĀRADA (?)



Fig. 11

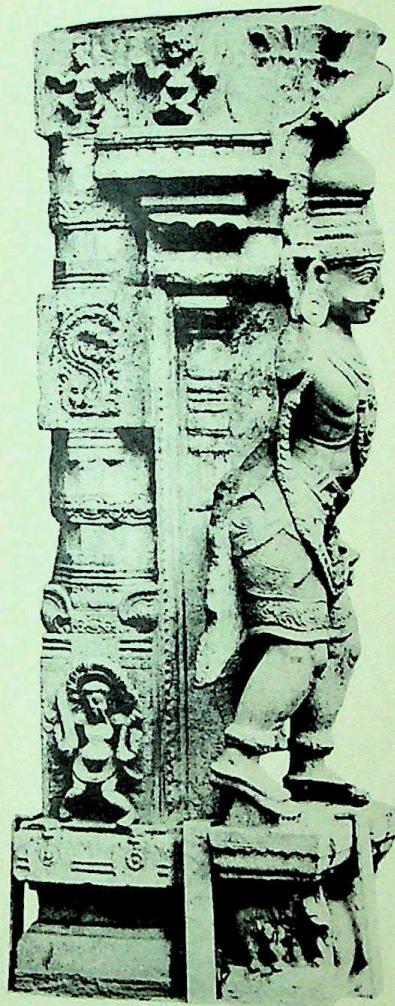


Fig. 12

Column C6. THE PĀNDAVA BHĪMA

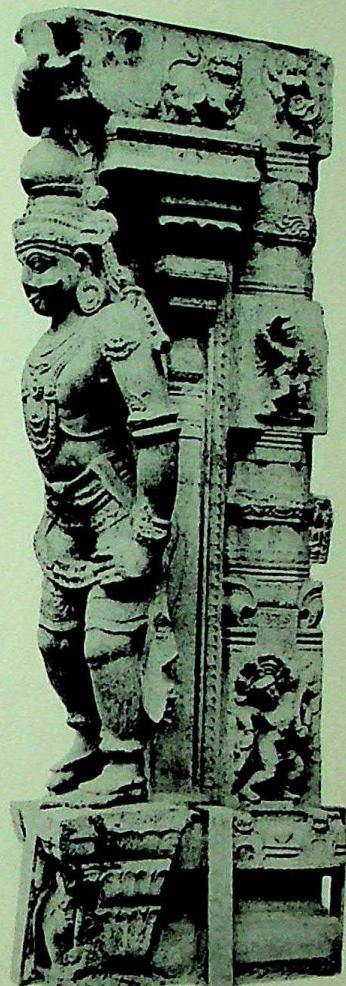


Fig. 13



Fig. 14

Column C7. A WORSHIPPER



Fig. 15

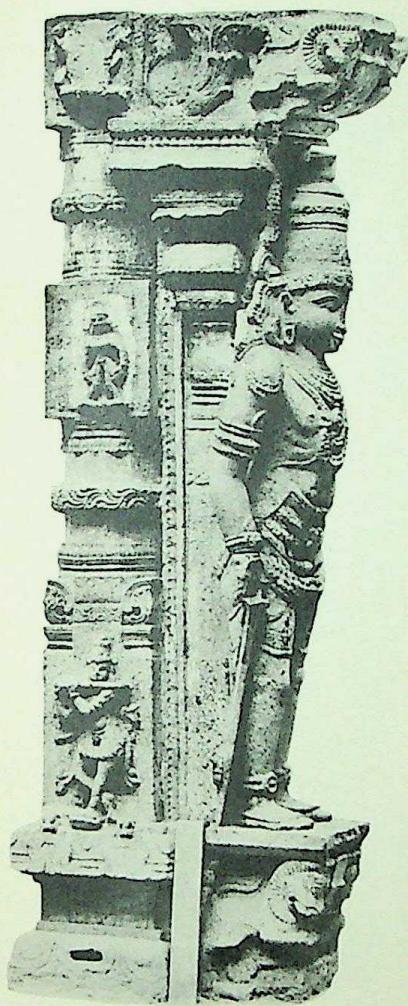


Fig. 16

Column C8. THE PĀNDAVA SAHADEVA



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

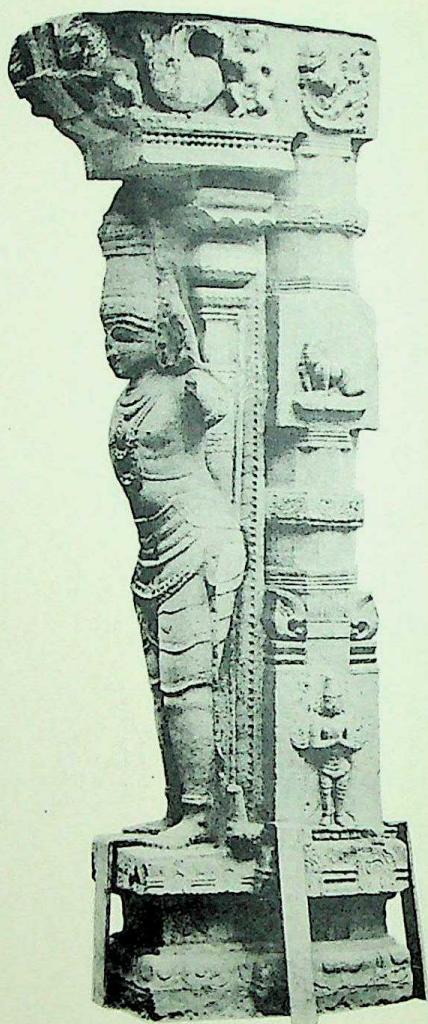


Fig. 19

Column C9. THE PĀNDAVA ARJUNA (?)



Fig. 20

Column C10. THE MONKEY-KING SUGRĪVA



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

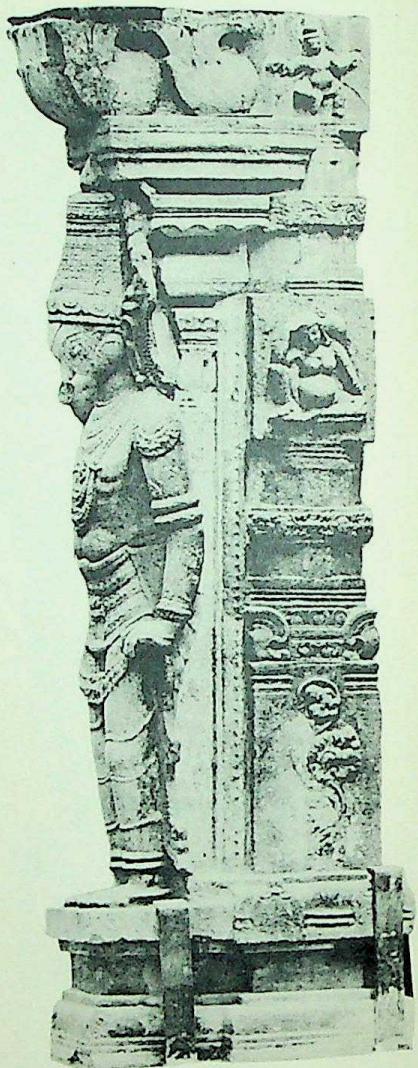


Fig. 23

Column C11. THE KIMNARA TUMBURU



Fig. 24

Column C12. THE DAITYA KING BALI(?)



Fig. 25

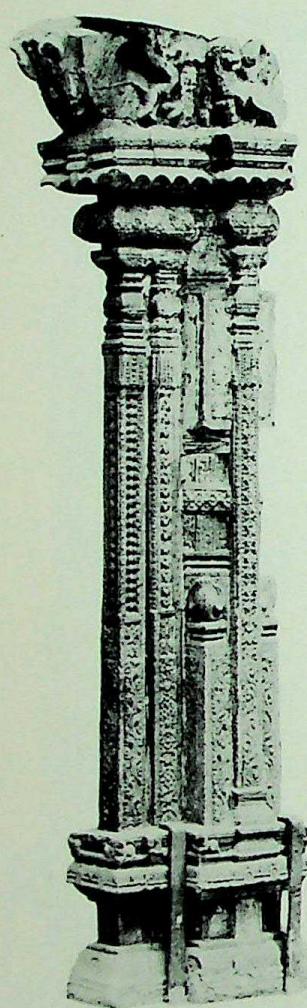


Fig. 26

Column Ca

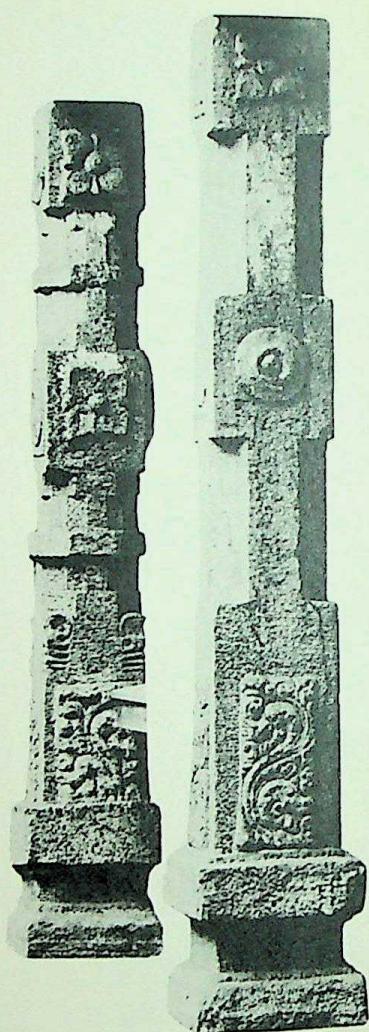


Fig. 27

Columns Sd and Sa



Fig. 28
Column Sb



Fig. 29
Column Sc



Fig. 30. Frieze Slab 7. THE DOOM OF RĀVANA

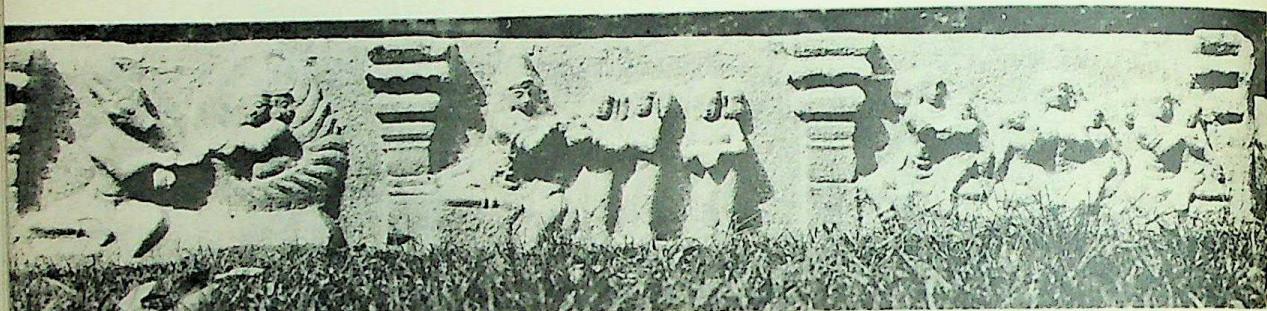


Fig. 31. Frieze Slab 2. THE BIRTH OF RĀMA AND HIS BROTHERS



Fig. 32. Frieze Slab 8. THE SLAYING OF TĀṬAKĀ



Fig. 33. Frieze Slab 3. THE EXILE OF RĀMA

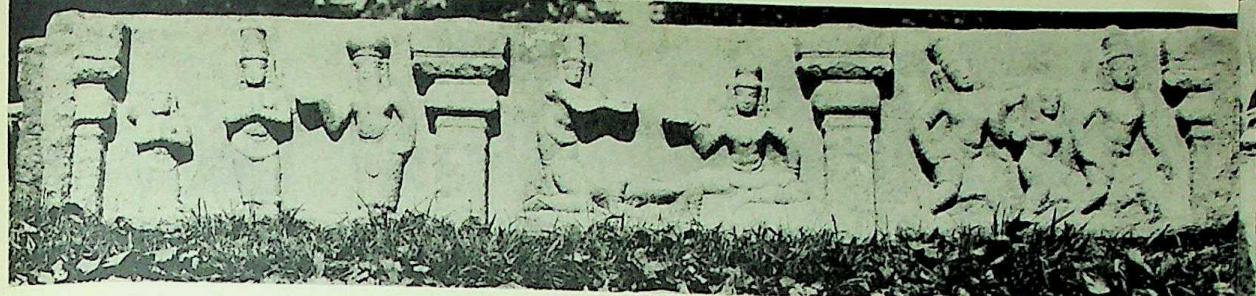


Fig. 34. Frieze Slab 6. BHARATA BECOMES RĀMA'S REGENT

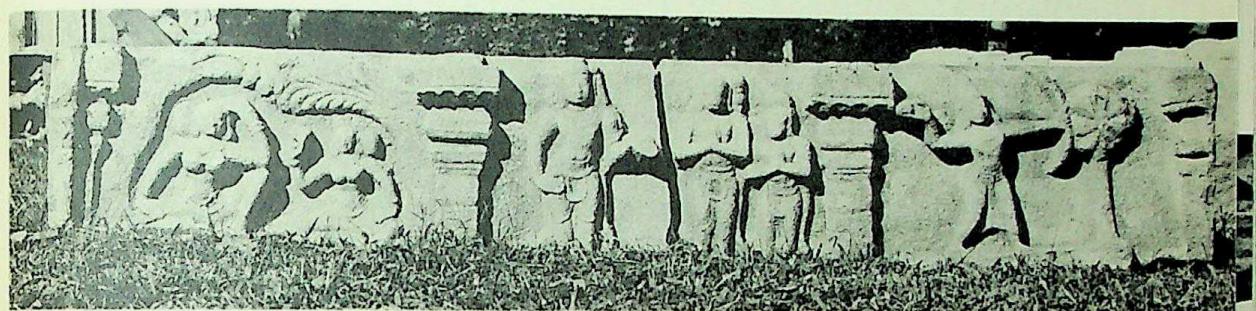


Fig. 35. Frieze Slab 1. RĀMA'S ARROW PIERCES THE PALM TREES

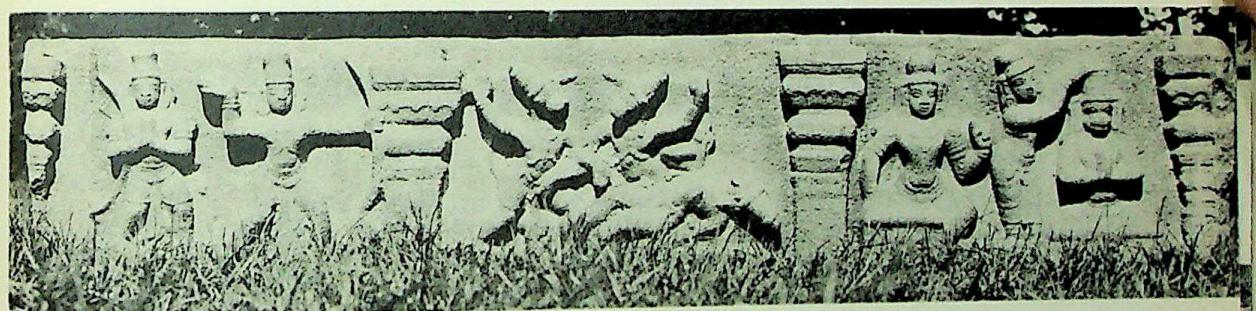


Fig. 36. Frieze Slab 5.
THE SLAYING OF VĀLIN AND THE CROWNING OF SUGRĪVA



Fig. 37. Frieze Slab 4. THE REJECTION OF SITĀ

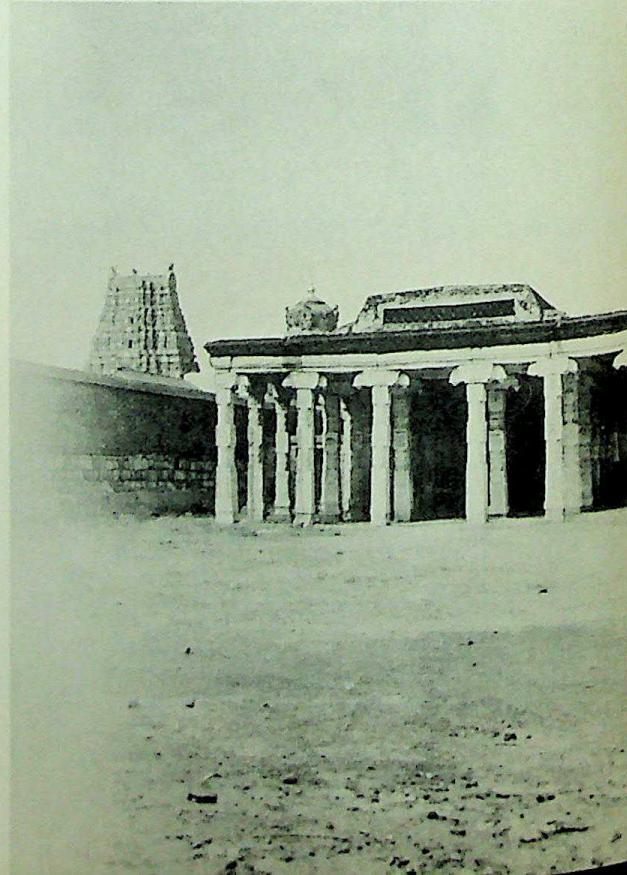
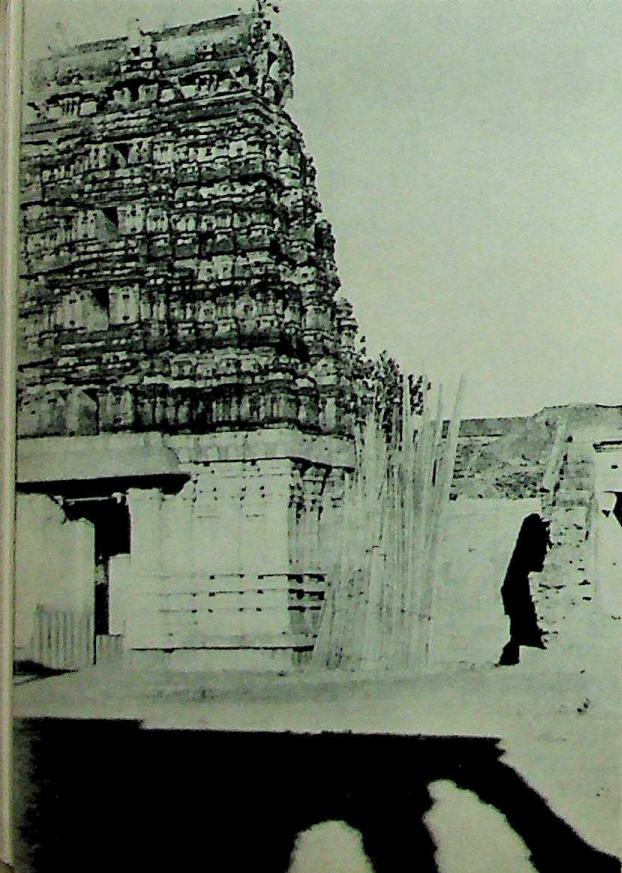


Fig. 38. Main Shrine and Part of Rukmiṇī Shrine

MADANAGOPĀLASWĀMI TEMPLE

Fig. 39. Gopuram

Fig. 40. Rukmiṇī Shrine



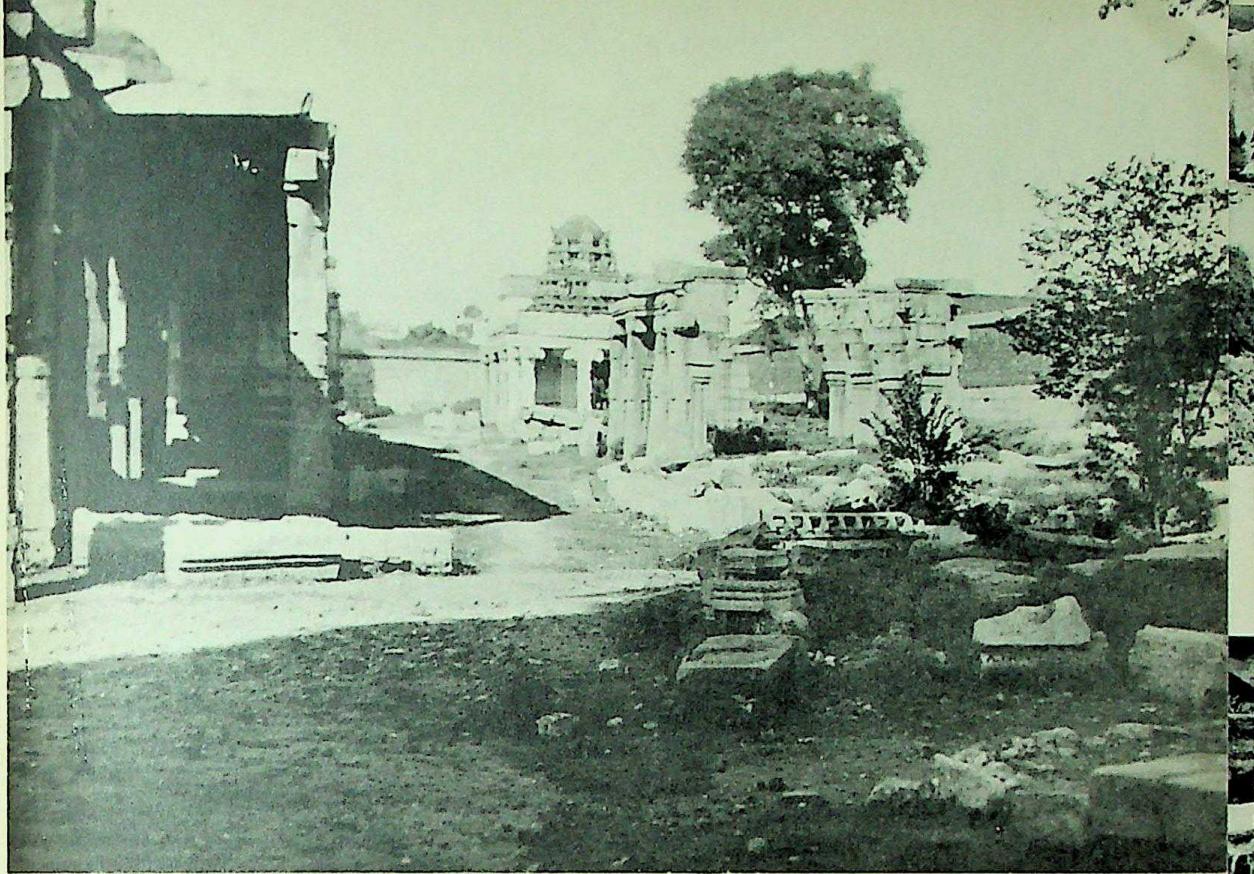


Fig. 41. Āṇḍäl Shrine, with Corner of Main Shrine
MADANAGOPĀLASWĀMI TEMPLE

Fig. 42. Maṇḍapam of the Main Shrine

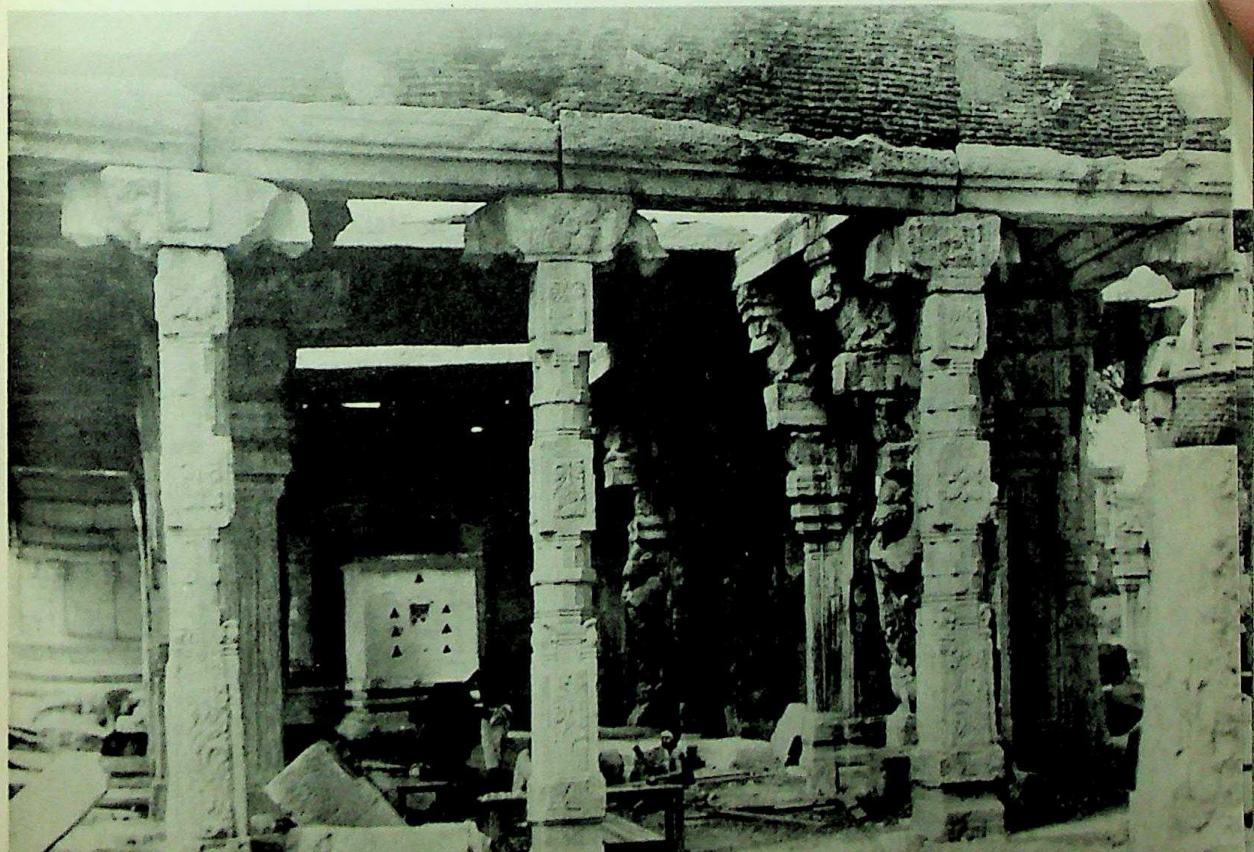




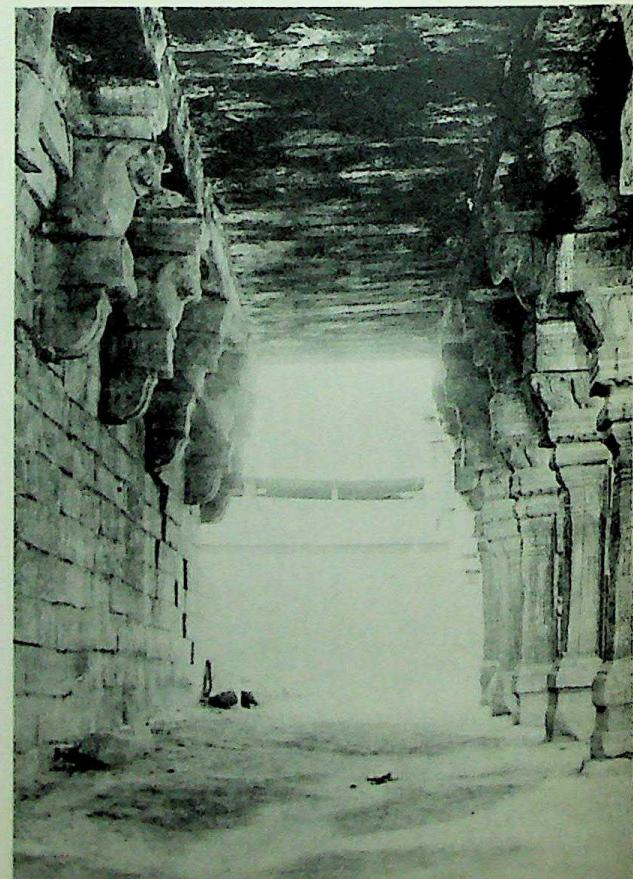
Fig. 43. Between the Main Shrine and the Āṇḍāl Shrine

MADANAGOPĀLASWĀMI TEMPLE

Fig. 44. Within the Rukmiṇī Shrine



Fig. 45. Between Rukmiṇī and Main Shrines



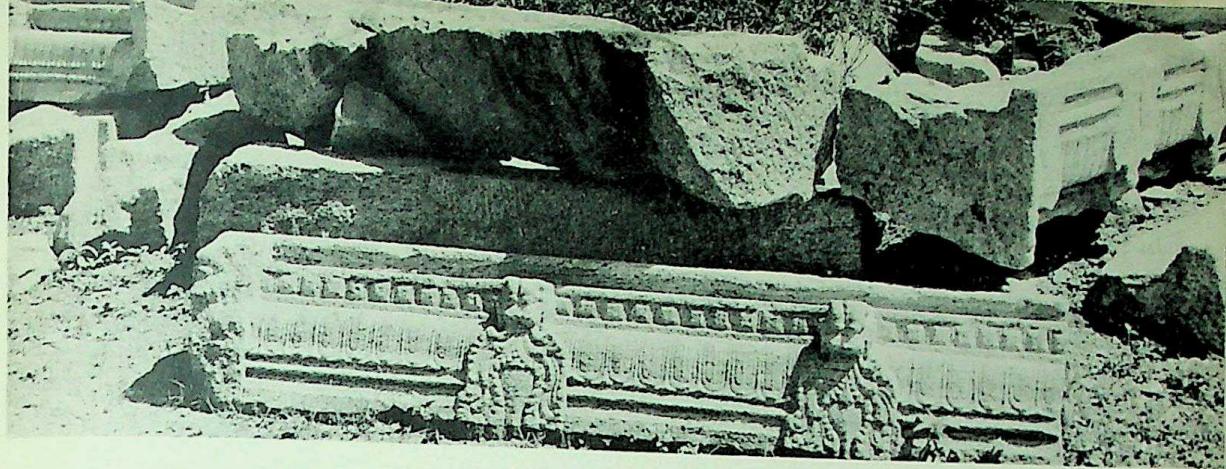


Fig. 46. Debris before the Āṇḍāl Shrine

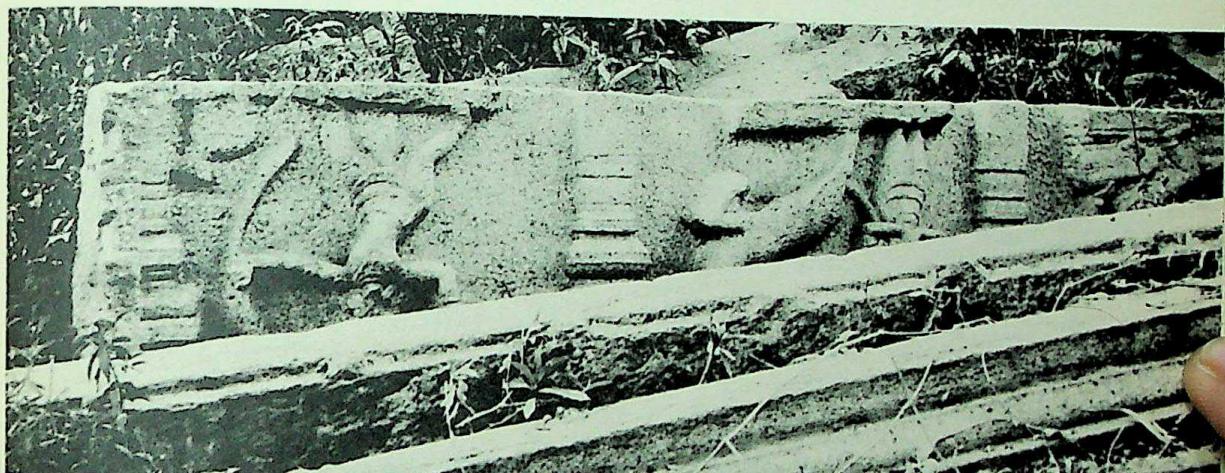
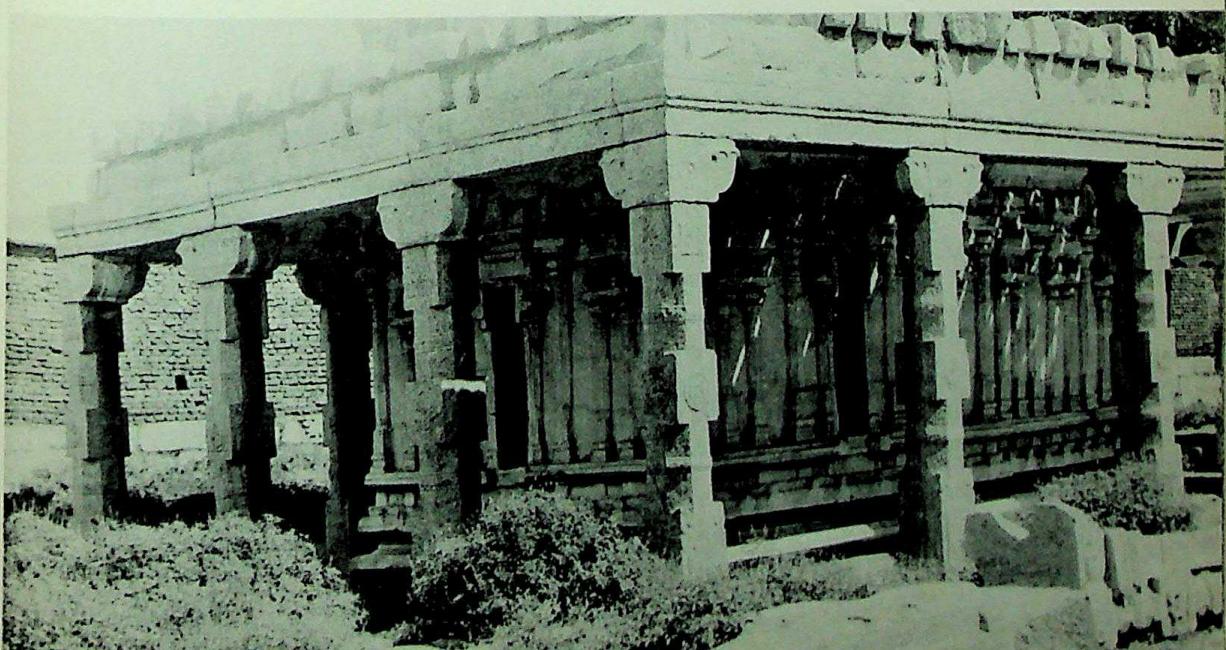


Fig. 47. Debris before the Āṇḍāl Shrine
MADANAGOPĀLASWĀMI TEMPLE

Fig. 48. Āṇḍāl Shrine from behind, showing Restoration



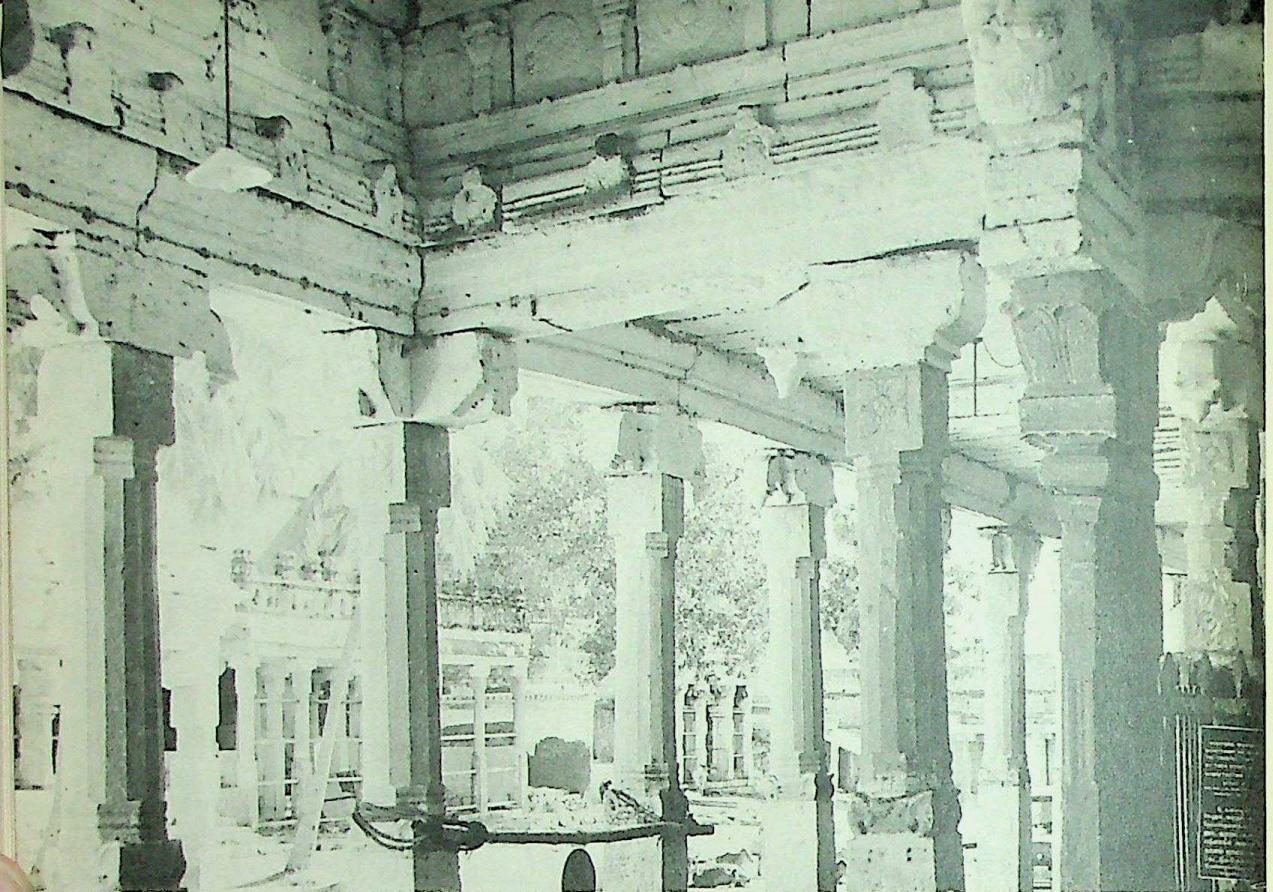
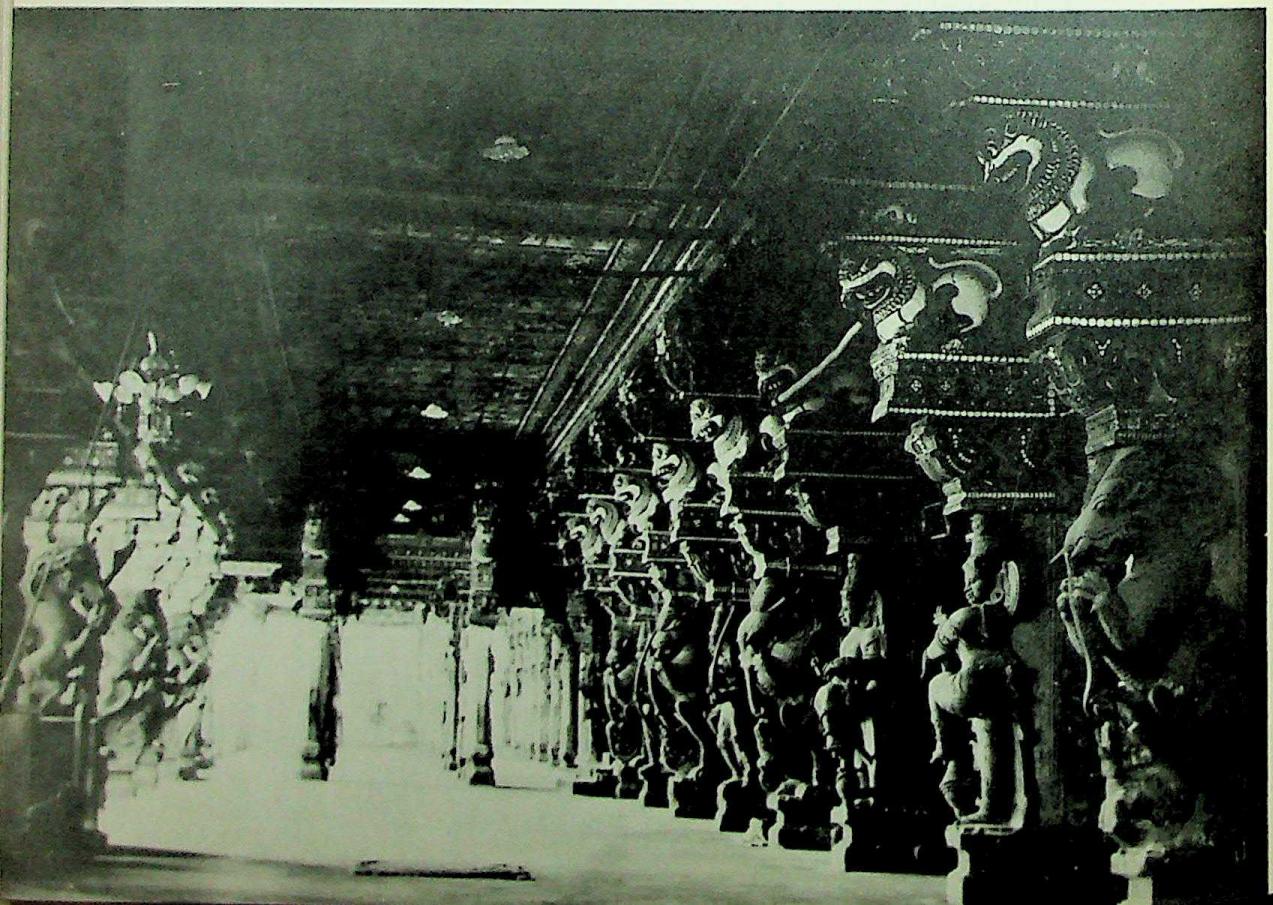


Fig. 49. Within the Maṇḍapam of the Perumāl Temple, Alagar

Fig. 50. Mīnākṣī Temple, Madura, Hall of Pillared Figures before the Shrine



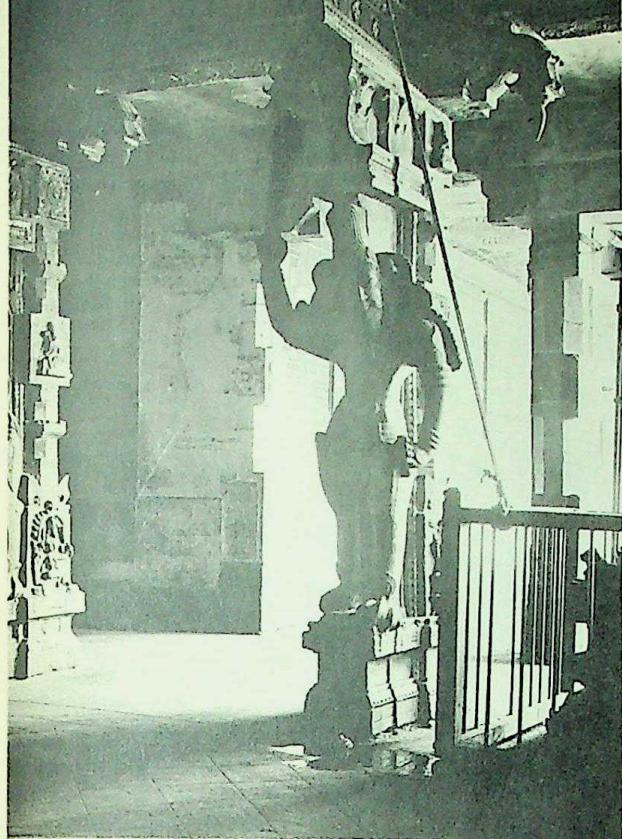


Fig. 51. Vyāghrapāda

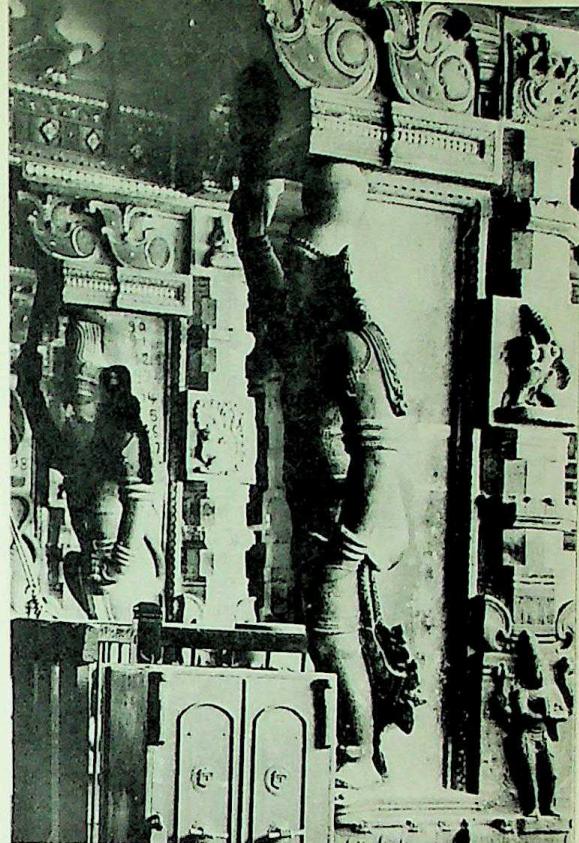


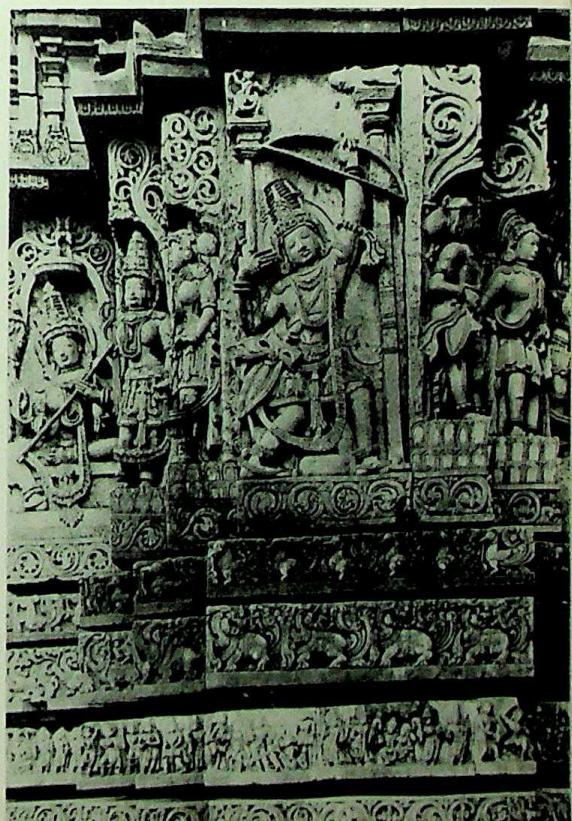
Fig. 52. Bhīma and Vyāghrapāda

MĪNĀKṢĪ TEMPLE, MADURA

Fig. 53. Lute-player, Madura



Fig. 54. Detail, Hoysala Temple, Halebid



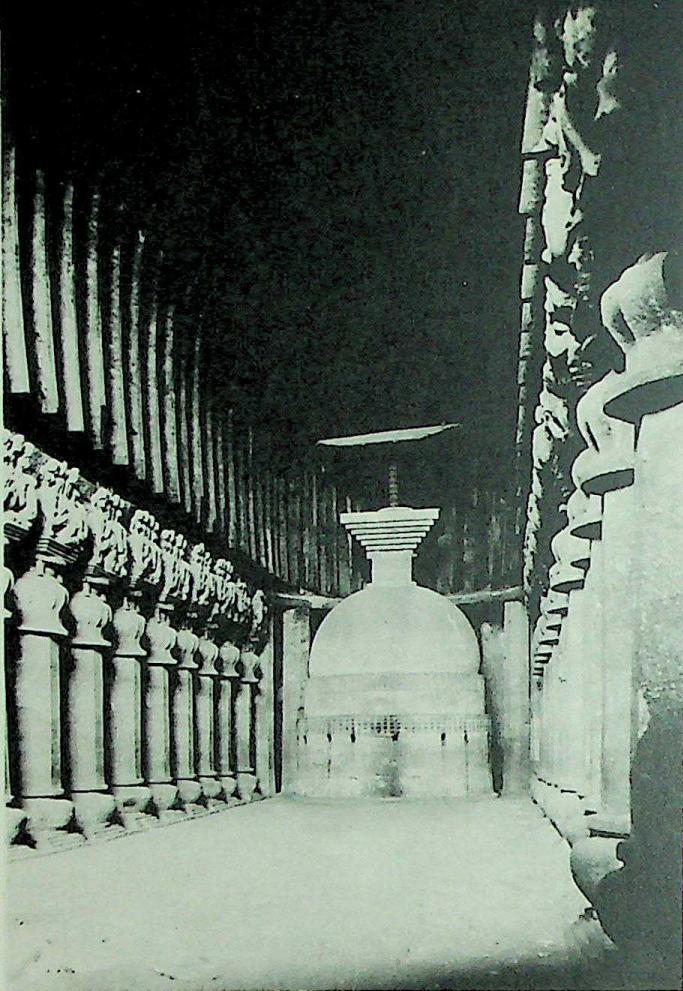


Fig. 56. Karle, Caitya Hall, 1st century A. D.

Fig. 55. Bhāja, Caitya Hall, 2nd century B. C.

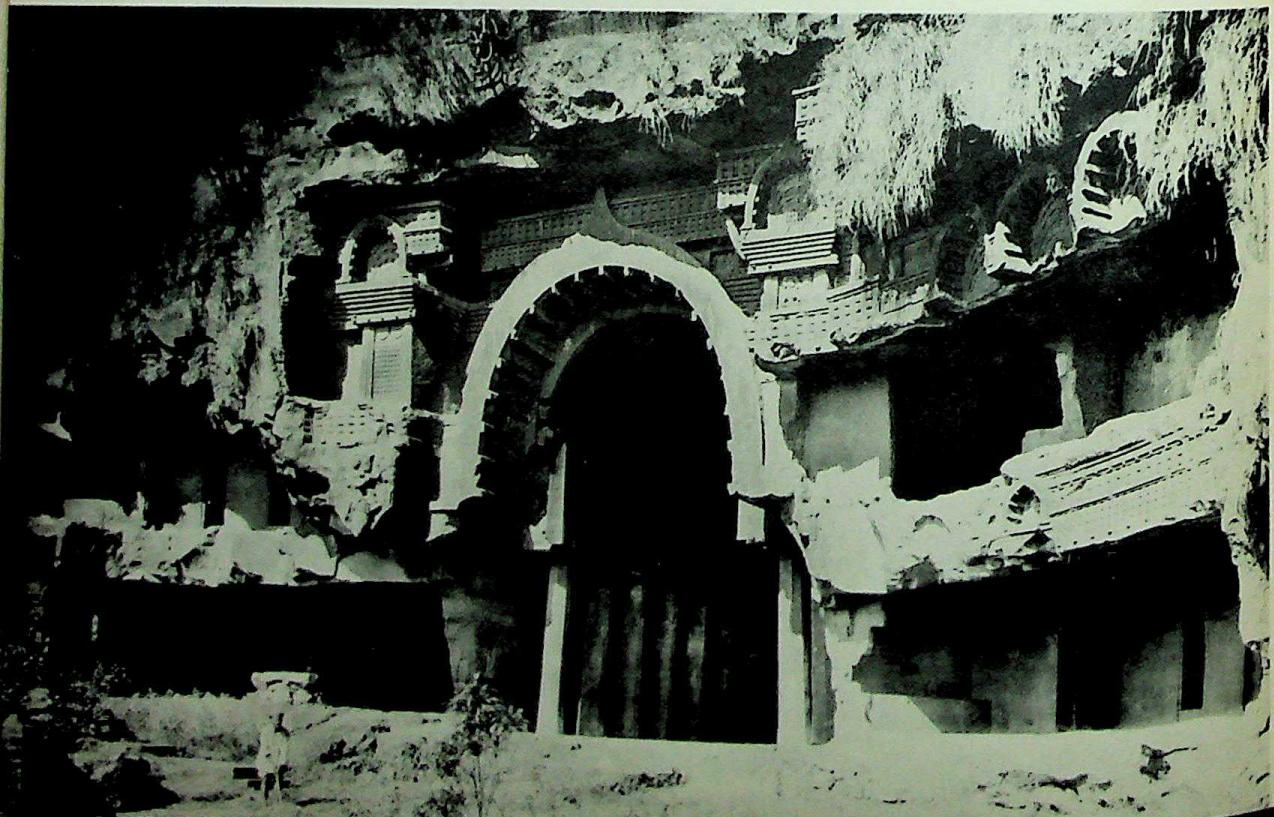
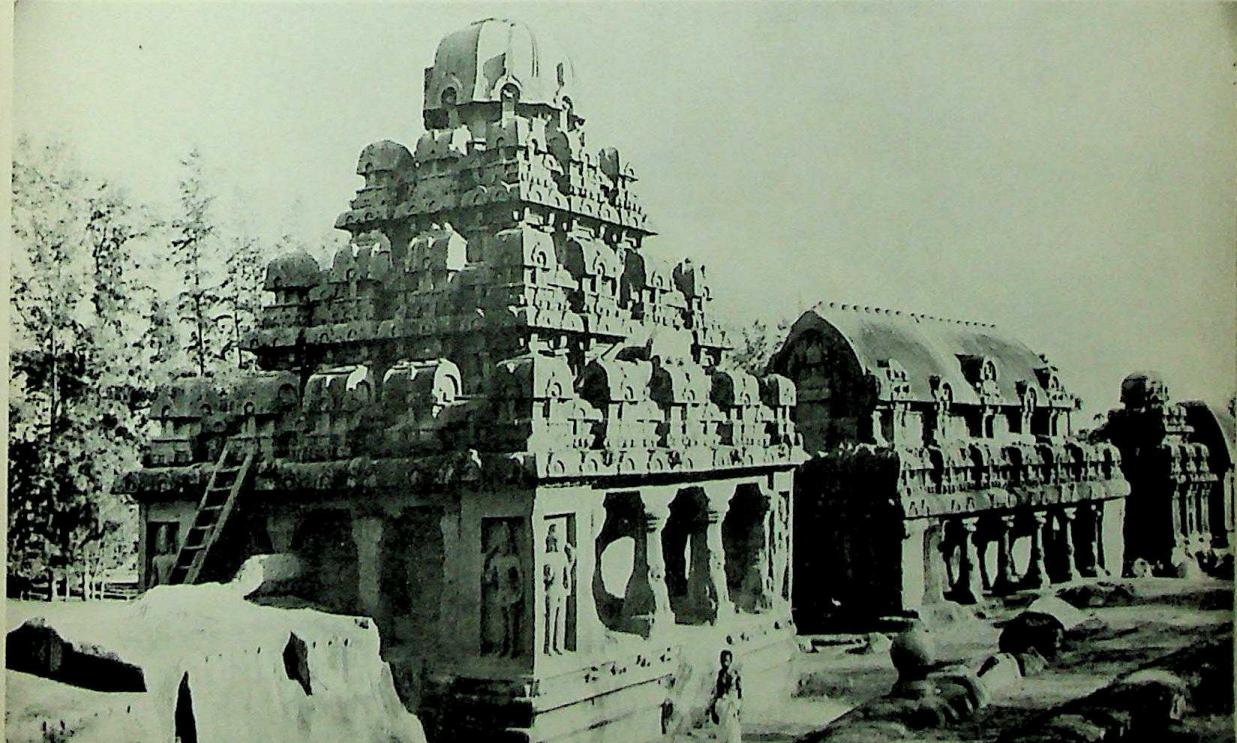




Fig. 58. Kailāsanātha Temple, Conjeevaram, 8th century

Fig. 57. Four of the Five Raths, Māmallapuram, 7th century



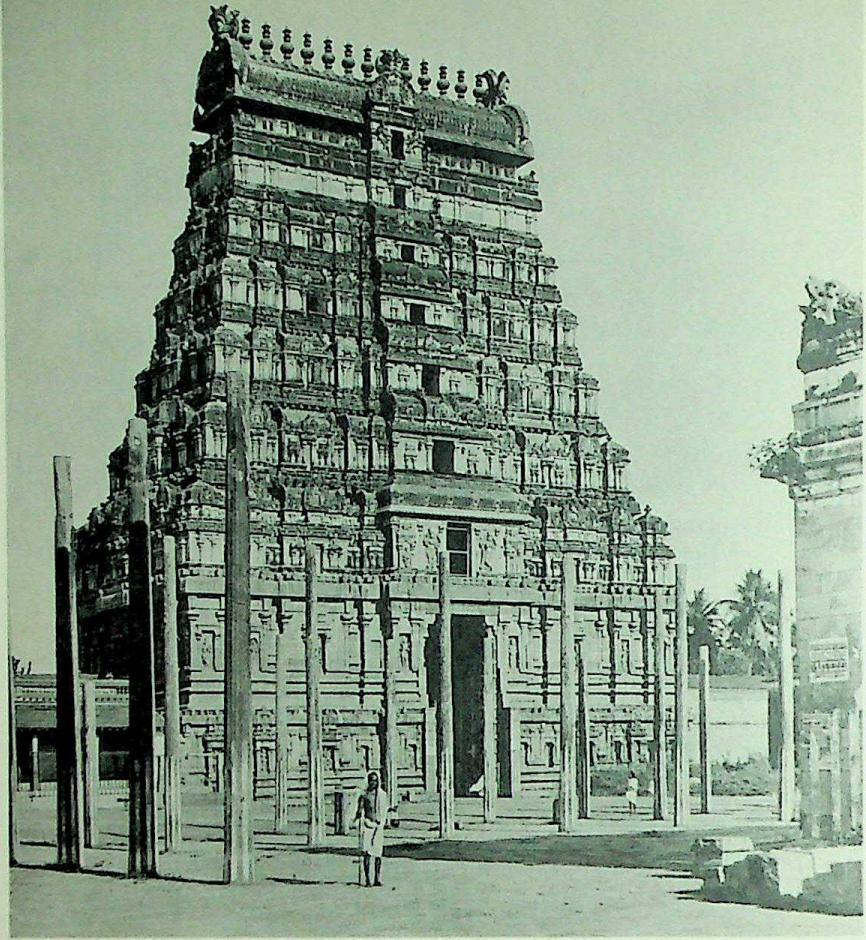
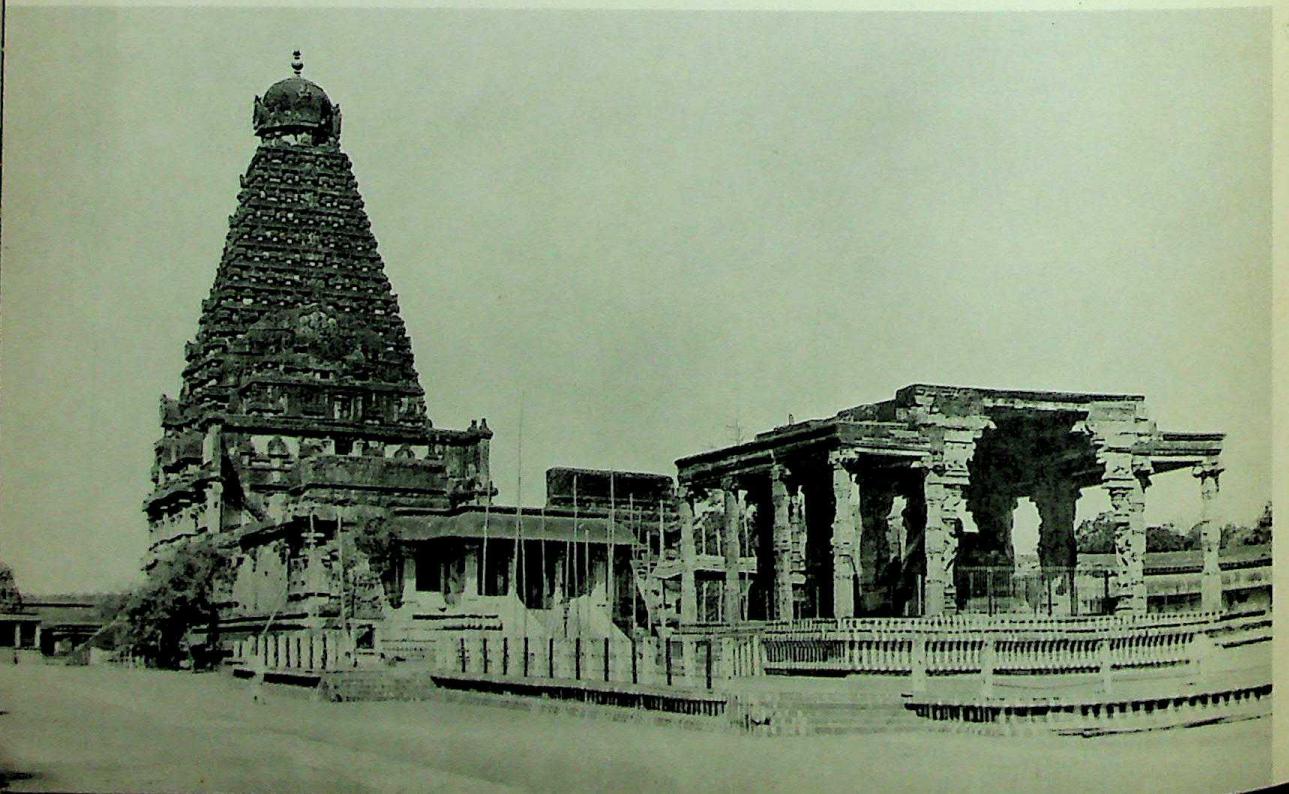


Fig. 59. Vimāna of Main Temple, Tanjore, Chola Period, 11th century

Fig. 60. Gopuram, Chidambaram, Pāṇḍya Period, 14th century



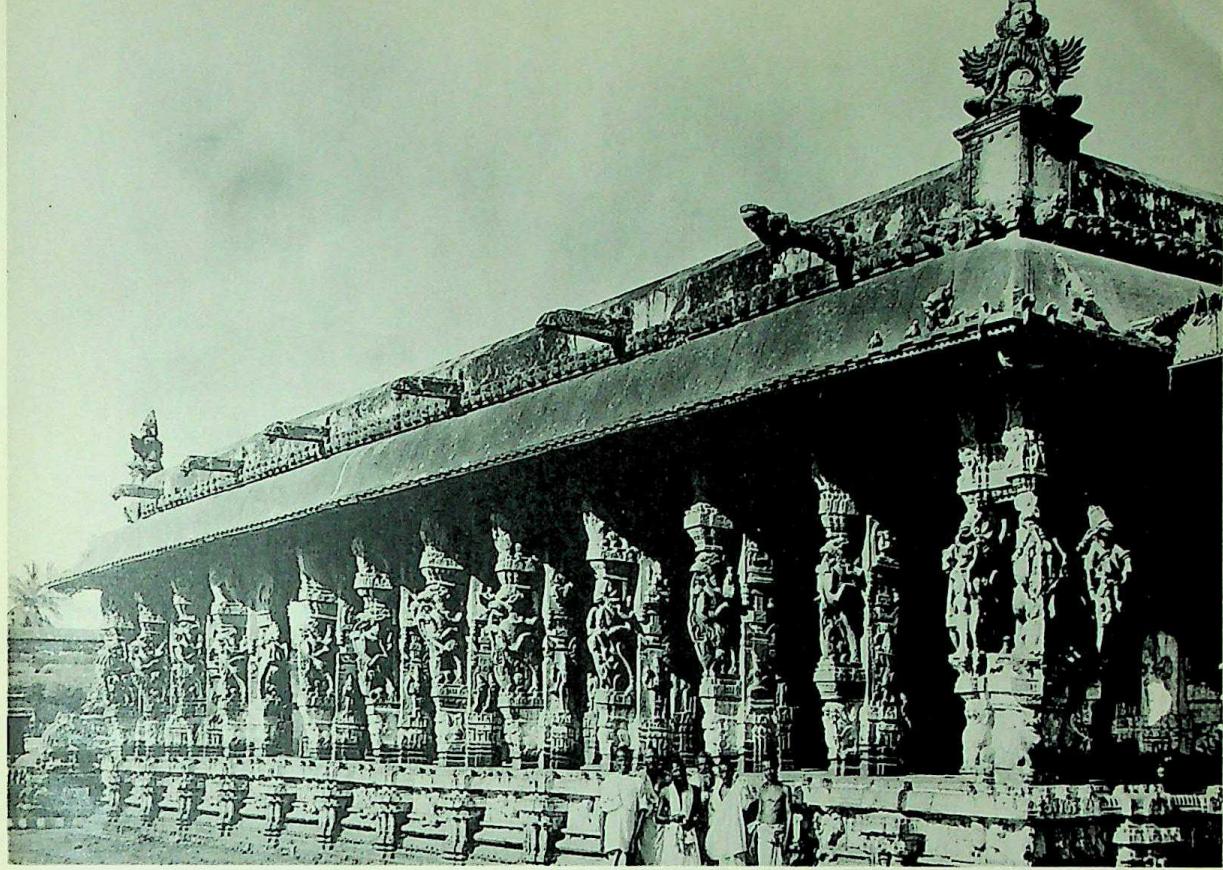
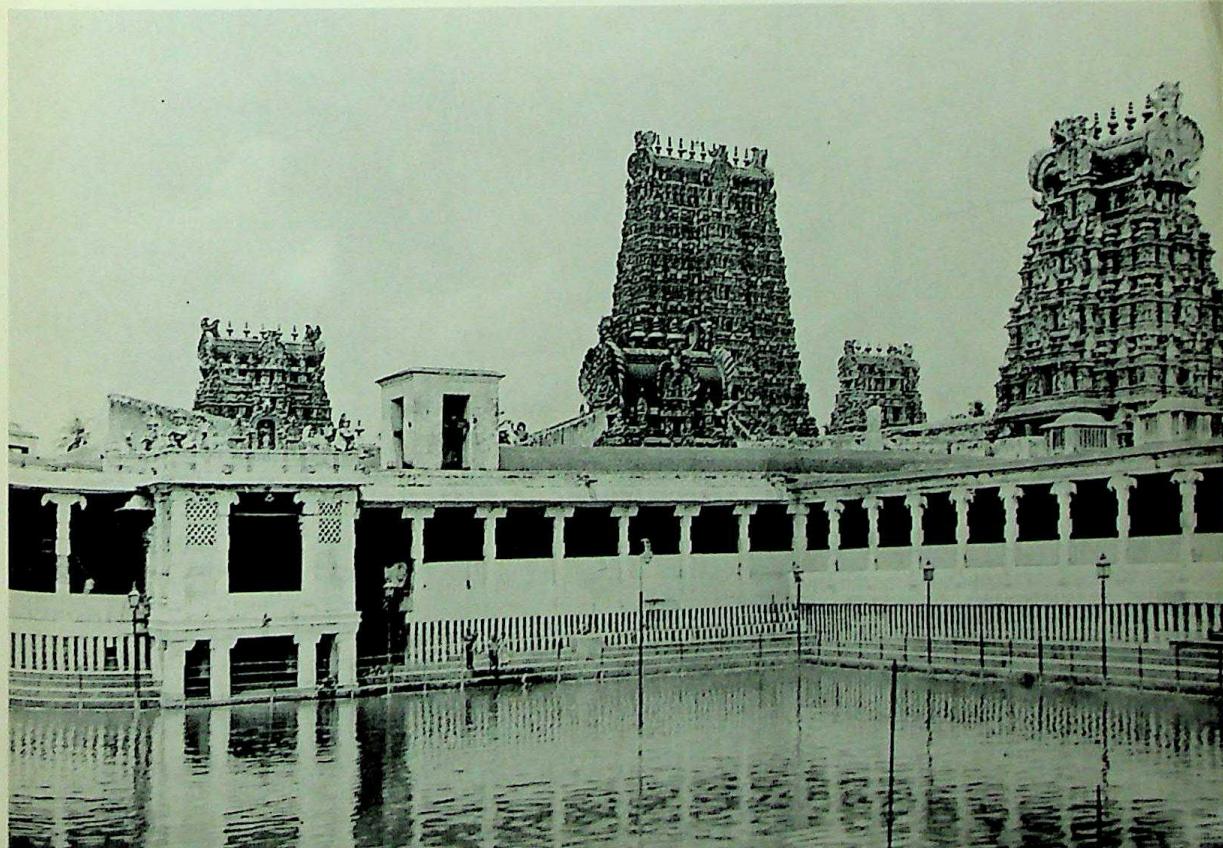
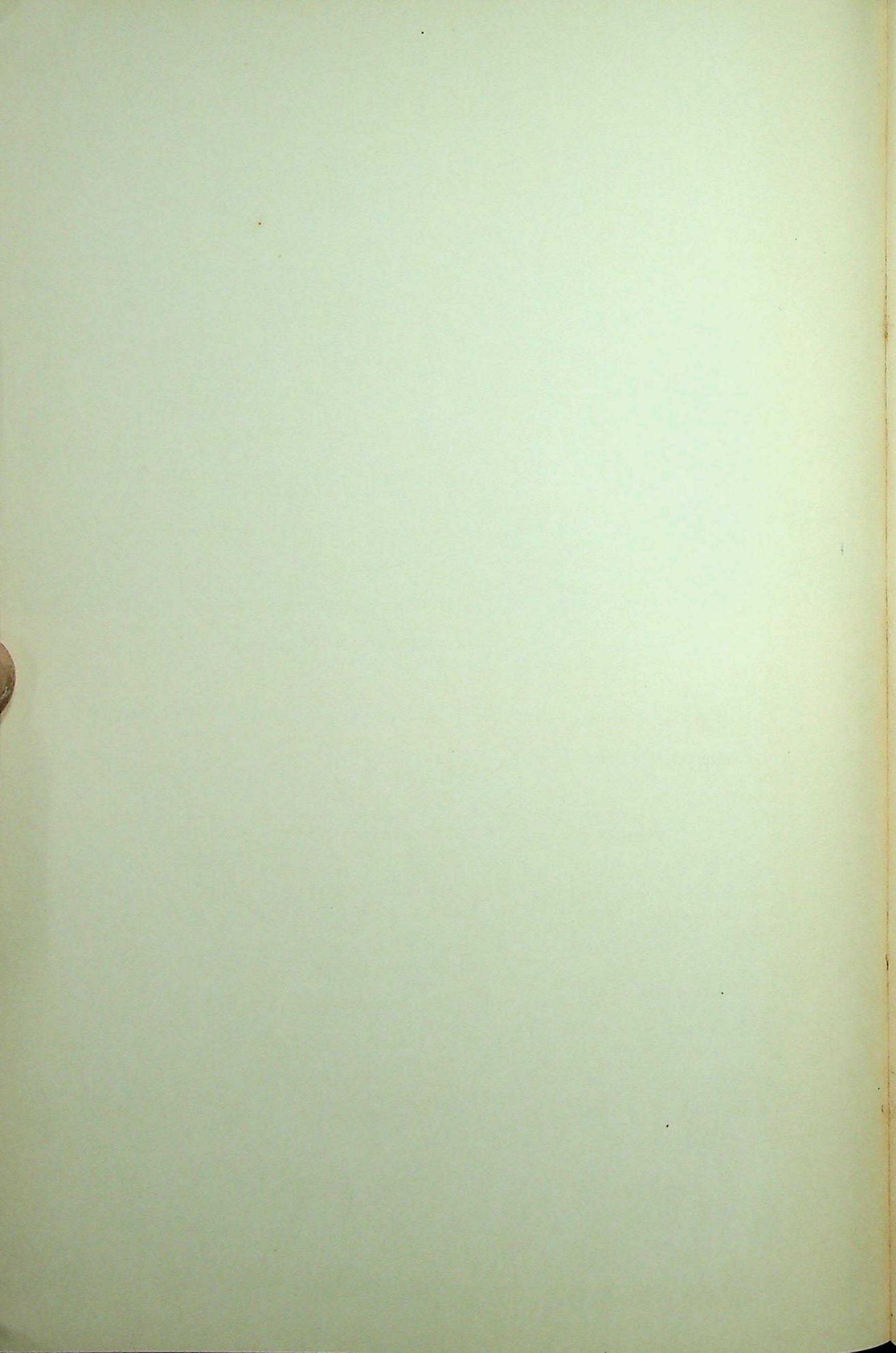


Fig. 61. Maṇḍapam, Devarājaswāmi Temple, Conjeevaram, 15th century

Fig. 62. Golden Lotus Pool, Mīnākṣī Temple, Madura, 16th century





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